

CLOSING THE BOOKS

Governor Edward Carstensen
on Danish Guinea 1842–50



Translated from the Danish by Barrentzen & Giffiths
TOVE STORSVEEN

Introduction by
PER HERNÆS

Edw Carstensen

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SUB-SAHARAN PUBLISHERS

This English edition first published in Ghana, 2010 by
Sub-Saharan Publishers
P. O. Box LG 358
Legon, Accra, Ghana

English edition © Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2010
Translated from the Danish by Tove Storsveen
English translation © Tove Storsveen, Oslo, Norway

Original title:

”Guvernør Edward Carstensens Indberetninger fra Guinea
1842-1850”

Issued by Georg Nørregård, 1964

Danish edition © Selskabet for Udgivelse av Kilder til Dansk Historie,
Copenhagen, 1964

ISBN 978-9988-647-65-0

Book design by:

Franklyn L. Darko

Cover:

Portrait of Governor Edward Carstensen.

Litography by Em Bærentzen

Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Copenhagen

To Selena

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INTRODUCTION

Governor Edward Carstensen On The Gold Coast: A Historical Background

Edward James Arnold Carstensen was the last Danish governor on the Gold Coast in a series of more than 80 forerunners who had presided over the Danish trade emporium on the Coast since 1658. His main mission when he arrived at Christiansborg Castle in February 1850 was to oversee the handing over of the so-called Danish possessions to the British. The hoisting of the British flag over Christiansborg was the culmination of a transaction between the respective governments in Europe: for £10,000 the Danish king sold Christiansborg and the remains of the other Danish forts on the coastline from Accra to Keta and surrendered all former claims of authority over local African peoples, or 'territorial rights whatever belonging to his Danish Majesty on the said coast'¹, to the British.

In the beginning of March 1850 Governor Winniett, accompanied by Carstensen and other Danish officials, made a round-trip to inspect the 'Danish settlements' and to obtain a transfer of allegiance from towns within the Danish sphere of influence. The tour started in Osu on 6 March, continued to Fort Augustaborg at Teshie, Tema, Fredensborg at Ningo, and Prindsensten at Keta. From there the entourage went to Kongensten at Ada before returning to Ningo and British Fort Vernon at Prampram. At each place there was an exchange of flags, and Winniett called meetings with the local 'chief and headmen' where they were 'acquainted with the circumstances of the transfer and engaged to render allegiance to the British Crown'.² From Prampram Winniett and Carstensen travelled inland, via Shai and Krobo, to Akropong in Akuapem, where the party was entertained by the Basel missionaries. Winniett wrote: '... I was greatly delighted with the pleasing aspect

¹ 'Proposed Convention for the Sale of the Danish Forts on the Gold Coast', Enclosure 2, in Palmerston to Reventlov, Foreign Office, London, 12 December, 1849. *British Parliamentary Papers (BPP)*, Colonies Africa, Vol 57, Irish University Press (IUP), pp. 21-22.

² Governor Winniett's report to Earl Grey, *British Parliamentary Papers*, Colonies Africa, Vol 57, IUP, p. 28.

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of this valuable missionary establishment'.³ The party was also very well received by the 'Chief of Akropong', who performed a spectacular ceremony culminating in the swearing of an oath of loyalty: The chief '... vowed, according to the fashion of the country, fealty to Her Majesty the Queen'⁴. From Akropong the journey went to Aburi (Abode), and then to the Danish plantation, Frederiksgave, of which Winniett gave the following description:

The chief public property connected with this plantation is a convenient dwelling-house, containing five rooms on the second floor, and also a covered gallery with other offices, as kitchen, etc. It is built with swish (clay) and stone, and thatched with grass. Its chief value would be as a sanatory station for invalid officers and is connected with Government... There are in the plantation, a few coffee-trees just coming into bearing. Its chief ornament is a fine grove of orange trees. The site is not well selected for a plantation, the soil being too dry and stony.⁵

Finally, the tour ended back in Accra on 21 March, where Winniett sat down to write his report titled 'A journal of a tour through an extensive part of the Danish settlements now transferred to the British Crown', which I have referred to above.

Winniett's narrative covered most of the former 'Danish settlements'. Moreover, he also made a few comments on 'some parts of these dependencies through which I have not had an opportunity of travelling', including Akyem, Akwamu, and 'Crepee'. Interestingly, he considered Akyem *a dependency*. His knowledge of the kingdom was limited: Akyem was, he said, 'A country of considerable extent, and great fertility of soil, occupied by one of the largest tribes of these regions. I can give no definite account of the extent of the Akim country...'. He also claimed Akwamu and Crepee to be dependencies: 'Farther to the eastward... are the Aquambus and Crepees, and other small tribes, all of which, together with those before-mentioned, have possessed Danish flags, and recognized the authority of the Danish Crown'.⁶

Governor Winniett's formal report to Earl Grey used phrases such as Danish 'possessions', 'dependencies', and 'territorial rights'. Although

³ Ibid, p. 33.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid, p. 34.

⁶ Ibid.

the British had recognised no Danish claims of exclusive authority over the mentioned areas until then, the governor now found it timely to give the impression that Danish 'sovereignty' had existed. We should keep in mind, however, that the Danes were able to transfer not much more than buildings, i.e. the fort structures. By all intents and purposes, the British inherited no more than a Danish sphere of influence, or certain *claims* of authority. By the late 1840s the Danish colonial project had failed completely, and the Danes had realised that no 'sovereignty' could be imposed or upheld. Thus, the wording of another British agent on the Coast is more appropriate regarding the actual power of the Danes, suggesting in 1848, '... the King of Denmark has two or three settlements on the W. Coast of Africa, the chief is Christiansborg, there is also a small fort at Quitta & another at Ningo... The local [Danish] Govt exercises a sort of sovereignty in those parts, though without any regular admission of it by the native Chiefs'.⁷

Winniett's narrative gives an impression of Danish colonial ambitions, and it depicts the regions and peoples on the eastern Gold Coast over which the Danes had tried to impose jurisdiction and authority towards the end of their close to 200-year long presence on the Coast. Moreover, it illustrates certain aspects or examples of social change, such as attempts to develop plantations (cf Fredriksgrøve), and missionary activities (Basel mission at Akropong). Of course, the hoisting of the British flag at Christiansborg and other places also marked the end of Dano-British political rivalry where two contestants for expanding territorial control of the 19th century Gold Coast had stood against each other.

The Danes first came to the Gold Coast (or Guinea as they called it) to have a share in the West African trade in gold, but within a few decades they entered the slave trading business.⁸ They started out capturing the

⁷ W.B. Hutton & Sons to Visc Palmerston, 8 August 1848; copy found in Udenrigsministeriet. Alm. dossiersager 1848-56: Sager vedr. de danske etablissementer på kysten af Guinea 1848-50; Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen.

⁸ On the history of Danish activities on the Gold Coast, see, G. Nørregaard *Guldkysten*, Vol 8 in the series *Vore gamle tropekolonier*, edited by J. Brøndsted, Copenhagen 1966 (1968), O. Justesen 'Kolonierne i Afrika' in *Kolonierne i Asien og Afrika*, edited by O. Feldbæk and O. Justesen, Politikens Danmarkshistorie, Copenhagen 1980, and P. Hernæs *Slaves, Danes, and African Coast Society*, Trondheim, 1995 (1998). For useful studies by Ghanaian scholars, see e.g. E. Reynolds *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast, 1807-1874*, Longman Group Ltd., 1974, M.A. Kwamena-

Swedish fort Carolusborg, which later became Cape Coast Castle, in 1658, but lost it after a few months. By the early 1660s, however, they had built two forts of their own, Fort Frederiksborg near Cape Coast, and Christiansborg at Accra. Only Christiansborg survived the turbulent first decades when the Danes struggled to gain permanent foothold on the Coast. During the 18th century, it became the headquarters of Danish slave trading activities, which gradually expanded eastwards accompanied by the building of Fort Fredensborg at Ningo in 1736, Augustaborg at Teshie, Kongensten at Ada, and Prindsensten at Keta in the 1780s. At the turn of the 18th century, we see a decisive contraction of Danish activities partly as a result of the Danish king's ban on slave exports, announced in 1792 and executed from 1803.⁹ From 1817 a radical cut in expenses and personnel forced the Danes to concentrate all efforts on Christiansborg whereas the other forts were more or less abandoned, except for a Danish soldier and a few fort slaves. By royal decree of 1834 a single attendant was left on each fort to look after the buildings and fly the Danish flag.¹⁰

Abolition changed the basic conditions of all European activities on the Coast. The Danes saw this at an early date and initiated a number of attempts to establish experimental plantations to cultivate export crops such as cotton, coffee and sugar in order to develop an agro-based economic alternative to the slave trade. Efforts to create a plantation economy were not successful. In 1831 a Danish official rightly observed that,

Plantations, the way they are now run by purchased slaves, who cultivate coffee etc. for the master and ordinary products of the land for themselves, would not easily be established on the Coast. If the cultivation of colonial products is to become of importance it must probably be carried out by the natives themselves and to their direct advantage.¹¹

Poh *Government and Politics in the Akuapem State, 1730-1850*, London 1973, and K. Affrifah *The Akyem Factor in Ghana's History 1700-1875*, Accra 2000.

⁹ Total slave exports on Danish ships (during the period 1660-1806) reached a level of ca. 85,000 heads. Although slave trading activities on the Gold Coast declined in the 1790s, it appears that total West African exports by Danish ships reached a peak of ca. 30,000 slaves in the period 1793-1806. See P. Hernæs (1995), p. 232 (Table 5).

¹⁰ Nørregaard (1966), p. 297, and p. 317.

¹¹ Balthazar M. Christensen 'Bemærkninger om de Danske Besiddelser i Guinea', 1831, p. 133. Papers of the Guinea Commission of 1833, box 1038, Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen.

His view must have been influenced by the gradual expansion of palm-oil production in Akuapem and Krobo at the time, which set an example. Palm-oil was produced by local peasant farmers, not on 'American-style' slave plantations, and it became an increasingly important export product in the 1830s and 40s. Competition with the palm-oil trade became one important factor behind the decline of the Danish plantations.

The changing nature of Afro-European trade – or transition from slaves to 'legitimate' products – had political consequences. During the slave trade era we could describe relations between the Europeans and their African hosts in terms of '...an open interactive system within which various actors played a strategic game to gain advantages, and where neither party was able to dictate the rules'¹². The system was based on mutual interest and reciprocity, and operated via political manoeuvrings and strategic alliances. The Europeans needed trade partners to obtain slaves; they had to adjust to local conditions and were in no position to dominate their African counterparts. This changed after abolition. Gradually, the European forts became bridge heads of colonial ambitions, and the Europeans developed a growing interest in territorial control, more than partnership. 'Legitimate trade' required greater stability and peace, thus the need for control.

European territorial interests were also strengthened by pressure from the Asante empire, whose armies invaded the coastal zone and tried to bring it under Asante rule during the first decades of the 19th century. Asante rule provoked resistance. The British at Cape Coast took the initiative to organise an anti-Asante coalition of coastal polities, including Accra and the Danes at Christiansborg, as well as a number of tributary kingdoms in the southern periphery of the Asante empire. The coalition defeated Asante at Katamansu in 1826. By 1831 the new British governor at Cape Coast, George Maclean, had managed to negotiate a peace treaty. Asante expansion had been contained. However, its power had not been annihilated, and Asante remained a potential threat to its neighbours in the south.

¹² Per Hernæs 'Fort Slaves at Christiansborg on the Gold Coast: Wage Labour in the Making?', P.Hernæs and T. Iversen (eds.) *Slavery Across Time and Space*, Trondheim 2002, pp. 197-98.

Katamansu and the Asante treaty brought about a totally new situation regarding the balance of power between the Europeans and their African hosts; the former could now pursue territorial interests, expand jurisdiction, and deepen commercial relations from a position of strategic advantage, namely as guarantors of the peace and possible protectors of the coastal states against Asante. So, under the umbrella of the 'Asante peril' the British in particular, under Governor Maclean, gradually increased their political and judicial influence. The process culminated temporarily with the so-called 'Bond' in March 1844. The Bond cemented demands that coastal (Fante) chiefs acknowledge British jurisdiction.¹³

Governor Maclean's efforts to expand British power challenged Danish colonial aspirations. Overt Dano-British rivalry became evident during the peace negotiations with Asante, and though the Danes reluctantly accepted the treaty signed at Cape Coast Castle in April 1831, Danish Governor Hein also manoeuvred to conclude a separate peace treaty with Asante. Such a treaty was eventually signed at Christiansborg in August 1831, between Asante and the Danes and their allied towns in the east, as well as Akwamu.¹⁴

Akyem and Akuapem, however, were not signatories to the 'Danish' treaty, and this had some significance in the intra-European contest for control over the eastern part of the Gold Coast, which escalated during the following decade. Maclean consolidated British influence in the west. The Danes had no objections to this. Clearly, however, Maclean's ambitions did not stop there; he also revealed intentions to draw Akyem, Akuapem, and Krobo, with whom the Danes had long standing relations, into the British sphere of influence. Maclean was in fact 'president' of the Council of Merchants who took over the British forts when the Crown pulled out in 1828. His primary task, therefore, was to establish conditions under which British commerce would flourish. Commercial interests were behind the Asante treaty; trade was also behind British policies toward Akyem and Akuapem/Krobo. The increasing production of palm-oil in the latter area attracted

¹³ See e.g. Reynolds (1974), p. 96.

¹⁴ For a detailed account of the peace negotiations, see Ole Justesen 'The Negotiations for Peace in the Gold Coast, 1826 to 1831', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Nos 4 & 5 (2000-2001), pp. 1-55.

British merchants, and set off a formidable increase in exports of this commodity, as seen from the table below.

Palm-oil exports from the Gold Coast to Britain 1827-1841

Year	Export in Cwt.*	Year	Export in Cwt.
1827	4,962	1835	19,008
1828	7,351	1836	22,042
1829	7,002	1837	21,986
1830	13,575	1838	35,673
1831	16,750	1839	40,332
1832	16,544	1840	46,778
1833	25,599	1841	42,745
1834	21,485		

Source: BPP, Colonies Africa, Vol 3, Session 1842, Irish University Press, p. 496. See also Reynolds, p. 94.

* Cwt. = Hundredweight (long) = 112lb or 50.8 kg.

Thus, strategic economic considerations fuelled British eastward expansion, and in turn, this led to a clash with Danish interests. The Danes claimed Akyem and Akuapem to be within their sphere of influence and considered British attempts to forge stronger ties with the kingdoms as intrusions, which threatened Danish authority. Until the mid-1830s the Christiansborg administration was too weak to resist British 'encroachments'. This changed when Governor Mørck took charge at Christiansborg in December 1834. During his governorship (1834 -1839) the Danes pursued a much more active policy to expand their influence in Akyem as well as in Akuapem and Krobo. Among the more spectacular actions of Governor Mørck should be mentioned his military campaign against Krobo (December 1835 and January 1836) and the deposition of Adu Danquah (called Addo Dankwa in Danish sources), king of Akuapem. The two events were interconnected. On a visit to Akropong in November 1835 Mørck offered to mediate in a dispute between Akuapem and Krobo. When the Krobos declined, and it turned out that they appeared to have changed allegiance from the Danes to the British, the governor took immediate action; reinforced by field artillery and 40 soldiers from Christiansborg, and supported by troops from Osu and Labadi as well as Akuapem, Mørck staged an

attack on the Krobos, which forced them to accept a peace agreement whereby they reconfirmed allegiance to the Danes and their allied coastal towns and accepted substantial war damages to be paid in palm oil exports via Danish merchants at Osu/Christiansborg.¹⁵ This show of force had wider implications.

Evidently, Adu Danquah of Akuapem had nurtured hopes of obtaining a kind of supremacy over Krobo, which would have entailed a substantial income from taxation of Krobo palm oil exports. Seeing his aspirations thwarted by the Krobo-Danish agreement he now turned to the British merchants and attempted to make Akuapem break former ties to the Danes. Adu Danquah went from friend to foe. Mørck appeared to have solved one problem to create another. As it turned out, however, the Danish governor was able to exploit strong internal opposition to Danquah in Akuapem, particularly from Aburi and Larteh, and supported by the pro-Danish factions in Akuapem Governor Mørck took the decisive step to depose Adu Danquah in July 1836. This was followed up by a formal recognition and installation of a new king of Akuapem, Adum, at Christiansborg in January 1837. Envoys from all Danish allied towns were present, as well as important Akuapem chiefs, and Governor Mørck used the occasion to institute an agreement which allegedly bound all parties present to accept Danish supremacy and a degree of jurisdiction.¹⁶ Apparently, Mørck had achieved his aim to consolidate Danish influence in Akuapem; he also cultivated relations with Akyem, and his policy towards Akuapem obtained the support of Kofi Agyeman in Kotoku, as well as 'Queen' Dokuaa and her son Atta Panin in Abuakwa. Clearly, the governor took it that both Akyems belonged to the Danish sphere of influence.

Mørck's aggressive policy to defend Danish claims of 'territorial rights' provoked the British, who saw their trade in gold with Akyem and

¹⁵ For a detailed account of Gov. Mørck's campaign against the Krobo, see O. Justesen, 'Heinrich Richter 1785-1849: Trader and Politician in the Danish Settlements on the Gold Coast', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* (New Series), no. 7 (2003).

¹⁶ See P. Mørk 'Fra strategisk samhandling til koloniale ambisjoner? Danskenes forhold til Akyem og Akuapem på Gullkysten i perioden 1803-1845', M.Phil thesis, Dept of History, NTNU, Trondheim 2008, p. 77. Much of my text on Governor Mørck's policy is based on Peter Mørk's analysis.

palm-oil with Akuapem threatened. The Anglo-Danish dispute could not be solved on the spot, but became a diplomatic issue between the respective Home Governments. For some time Copenhagen supported their governor at Christiansborg, but eventually, by autumn 1838, the Danish Foreign Ministry backed down and instructed Mørck to abstain from confrontation and guarantee British rights to trade freely in the disputed territories. Obviously, free trade and unhindered expansion of commercial relations had been the primary interest of the British. Once this was accomplished they seem to have tolerated a certain measure of Danish political and jurisdictional influence in Akuapem and Akyem.

During the years following Governor Mørck's death in March 1839 we can observe a kind of *status quo*, regarding Anglo-Danish relations, and concerning Danish political ambitions in Akyem and Akuapem. Adu Danquah died at James Fort in July 1839, and thus a potential threat to stability in Akuapem had been eliminated. British traders had free access to the palm oil and gold trades, and Maclean now concentrated on conflicts on the western coast (Ahanta). Danish interim governors Gjede, Dall and Wilkens also changed focus, attempting to suppress illicit slave exports from the Volta area and obtain some sort of control over Anlo towns.

Such was the situation when Edward Carstensen, after Wilkens' death in August 1842, took over as Danish governor at Christiansborg. At least during his first years in office Carstensen had ambitions to demonstrate and protect 'Danish rights' on the eastern Gold Coast, including Akyem and Akuapem. In many respects he pursued the same policy as Mørck, although more diplomatically. First, he received Okyenhenne Atta Panin of Akyem Abuakwa at Christiansborg where he staged an installation ceremony to officially recognise Atta Panin's enstoolment and secure his loyalty by oath to the Danish government. To witness this symbolic demonstration of alleged Danish supremacy over Akyem the governor had called in representatives from Akuapem and allied towns, and he used the occasion to start negotiations to solve disputes that had come up between the two kingdoms. He also tried to influence internal affairs by warning Atta Panin against tyrannical tendencies and reprimanding Okuapemhene Addum for his bad

conduct of affairs in Akuapem. Finally, he put pressure on Addum to suggest Owusu Akyem as new heir to the royal stool in Akuapem. Later on Carstensen confirmed Kotokuhene Kofi Agyeman's position and ties to Christiansborg. Thus, the young governor demonstrated a strong will to maintain Danish claims of control over Akyem and Akuapem.

It seems unlikely that the Danes achieved any effective power over Akyem. Friendly relations were kept up, and the Danes may have been called upon to act as arbitrators in disputes. So did the British too, however, and they did not accept any Danish exclusive authority over Akyem. We may safely assume that Atta Panin, as well as his mother, 'Queen' Dokua, did acknowledge a certain commercial and political dependence on the Europeans, but, at the same time, they "played one European power against the other" to safeguard Akyem autonomy.¹⁷

In Akuapem the Danes played a more active role. Political instability and internal strife made Christiansborg intervene on several occasions. In October 1843 Carstensen had to deal with a conflict between Akropong and Larteh, forcing the parties to come to terms by threatening to stop all trade with Accra.¹⁸ In 1844 the Danes interfered in a dispute between Akropong, where Owusu Akyem had his base, and (Akuapem) Mampong, where Adum resided. Apparently Danish envoys sided with Owusu Akyem against the King, which increased tensions, and returning to the Coast after a trip to Denmark, Carstensen called all parties to Christiansborg to negotiate a settlement of the dispute. The 'palaver' became a disaster: Adum had strong supporters in Osu, and provocations led to a shoot out where the Akropong party killed a number of people and then escaped. During the flight Owusu Akyem was killed. The following night Adum and his chief linguist, Sebah Akyem, committed a ritual killing of two Akropong children. The violence and the human sacrifice on the doorstep of Christiansborg were actions in open defiance of Danish authority, and Carstensen had to take action; he immediately imprisoned Adum and fined Osu, and later on he also captured Sebah Akyem. When the latter's supporters in

¹⁷ Kofi Affrifah *The Akyem Factor in Ghana's History 1700-1875*, Accra: Ghana University Press, 2000, p.142.

¹⁸ P. Mørk (2008), p.93. See also Carstensen's letter , Christiansborg 20 October 1843, below.

Osu attempted an attack on his life Carstensen fired the Christiansborg canons, and a large part of Osu burnt down.¹⁹ Eventually, Adum and Sebah Akyem were sentenced to death. But, for political reasons they were pardoned and deported to Copenhagen where they remained till Denmark pulled out from the Gold Coast in 1850.

In one sense this episode can be seen as a manifestation of Danish jurisdiction. On the other hand it reveals the limitations of Danish control and the possible dangers involved when interfering in local power struggles. Carstensen realised this and tried to supervise affairs in Akuapem more closely; a new king had to be installed in Akropong, and the Danes supported 'Ohinne-Kumma', who apparently had the largest backing. In December 1845 Carstensen arrived in Akropong where he conducted a formal installation of 'Ohinne-Kumma' and made him swear an oath of loyalty to the Danish government at Christiansborg. Moreover, he tolerated no opposition and made sure that all important chiefs in Akuapem took part in the official enstoolment ceremony in Akropong in February 1846 as token of allegiance to the new king. Clearly, this was an attempt to bolster the authority of the royal stool and create some unity in an otherwise 'anarchic' political environment.²⁰ Judging from Danish sources some measure of stability was created in Akuapem over the next few years, and the Danes faced no challenges of their assumed authority, except for one incident in 1847 when the Danish governor had to force Akropong to release some Asante traders who had been captured. War threats from the Asantehene motivated the resolute Danish action.²¹

Concerning the Danish allied Ga and Adanme towns on the coast from Osu to the Volta, it appears that Christiansborg could depend on their loyalty. Anlo towns on the eastern side of the Volta, however, never submitted to Danish claims of authority. It should be remembered that Prindsensten fort at Keta was the only European fort built (1784) against the wish of local political leaders, and the Danes faced serious troubles in the area from the 1790s. The contraction of Danish activities

¹⁹ For a further description of these events, see G. Nørregaard *Guldkysten* (1966), pp. 329-30, and Carstensen's letters below.

²⁰ See Carstensen's letter of 2 March 1846, below.

²¹ G. Nørregaard, *Guldkysten* (1966), p. 331.

from the early nineteenth century, which also involved abandoning Prindsensten fort, put a stop to recurrent Anlo-Danish conflicts, but a resurfacing of illicit slave exports from the area in the late 1830s and 1840s again brought up 'traditional' struggles. Carstensen understood that to create an image of legitimacy of Danish territorial claims, *vis à vis* other European nations, particularly Britain, the Danes would have to take a firm stand against continued 'illegitimate trade' and thus exercise some control over Anlo towns. Policing the trade activities required military backing, and in July 1845 Carstensen took the initiative to repair Prindsensten fort at Keta and place a contingent of soldiers there under the leadership of a Danish officer. The military force was too weak to suppress Anlo slave trading activities, and the fort was several times put under siege by Anlo towns. Punitive expeditions from Christiansborg, supported by a Danish man-of-war (1845 and 1847), resulted in forced, temporary submission by Anlo leaders. This 'gun boat diplomacy' had no lasting effect, however, and it is quite evident that Danish claims of authority over Anlo territory remained illusory.

Summing up, we may observe that Danish political ambitions and efforts to create a kind of protectorate over eastern parts of the Gold Coast in the 1840s had meagre results. The only territories under some measure of Danish control were the Ga and Adanme coastal towns. In Akyem the Danes might have had a vague influence; in Akuapem such influence, for a while, appeared more pronounced. In both territories, however, so-called Danish 'rights' remained disputed by the British, who gradually bolstered their position through dominating the increasing trade with the kingdoms. Lack of 'exclusive rights' and the guarantee of free trade for British traders (or British trading houses operating via local agents) led to the paradoxical situation where the Danish government on Christiansborg had to bear all expenses involved in keeping up peace and stability while the British cashed in commercial profits. Governor Carstensen commented on this, and he also informed his peers in Copenhagen that forces of social change on the coast involving an increasing 'anglification' undermined Danish efforts. Loyal to his instructions he 'kept the fort', but at the same time he became increasingly ambivalent and ended up recommending that the Danes give up their 'possessions' on the Coast.

Carstensen's attitude can be seen as a reflection of current opinions in government circles in Copenhagen. Already in 1840 the new Danish king, Christian VIII, had decreed that his 'Guinea possessions' should be sold as soon as possible. No action was taken until 1843, when an offer was made to the British government in London. The plans were shelved when this offer was rejected. Again, in 1847, possibly influenced by Carstensen's reports and recommendations, the offer was repeated: Carstensen was authorised to negotiate a sale with the British governor at Cape Coast at the price of £40,000. The governor accepted, but his Home Government in London rejected the offer. A second attempt via Carstensen was made in 1848, but in vain. Eventually, the Danish government reduced the price to £10,000, renouncing any compensation for claimed 'territorial rights', and the 'sales agreement' between Britain and Denmark was signed in December 1849. As shown above the Danish forts were transferred in March 1850.

It is clear that Denmark in the 1840s had neither the resources, nor the political will to consolidate her interests and establishments on the Gold Coast. Still, the Danish government held on to an ambiguous, futile 'colonial project', which it hardly wanted, for nearly a decade; this is hard to explain. It is in this perspective, however, we should see the development of Afro-Danish, as well as Anglo-Danish relations on the Gold Coast towards the end of the 'Danish era'.

To conclude, I wish to say that the intention of this introduction has been to draw attention to the role of the Danes in Gold Coast, or let us say Ghanaian history, with particular emphasis on the complex relations between the Danes, the British, and African societies in the eastern parts of present day Ghana in the 1830s and 1840s. I also hope to have been able to provide the reader of the present book with sufficient background knowledge to be able to understand Edward Carstensen's time as governor at Christiansborg and to put his reports and letters in proper perspective. Carstensen was a reliable observer and an articulate rapporteur of local affairs, and Tove Storsveen's edition and English translation of his papers (based on the late professor Georg Nørregaard's Danish edition from 1964) therefore opens up a gold mine of information to the international and Ghanaian community of

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scholars, and to all those among the general public who are interested in Ghanaian history. Storsveen's laudable effort has also given researchers a source collection, which is supplementary to British historical records; this should give historians an opportunity to avoid a rather problematic 'British bias' in interpreting European rivalries and local events on the Gold Coast in the mid-nineteenth century.

Per Hernæs
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July 2008

PREFACE

A brief Biographical Note on Edward Carstensen

Of all the Danish governors on the Gold Coast, Edward Carstensen became one of the most prominent. This, partly because of his open mind towards the situation in Africa and his reflections on the implementation of the great European scheme for the “civilization of Africa”; as well as his reflections on the possibilities of organizing and developing the Danish establishments there. Of equal importance, however, is the historical role he came to play – through no choice of his own. As fate would have it, he was the instrument by which two centuries of Danish involvement along the eastern coast of the Gold Coast was terminated, thereby making way for the emergence of the colonial system that developed there.

Born and brought up in North Africa, in an international and diplomatic environment, Edw. Carstensen had a more realistic view of what he was going to find when he arrived at the Gold Coast, than did most of his countrymen who came to serve there. He arrived at the Danish chief fort, Christiansborg, on 18 May 1842, in the capacity of second assistant to the Danish Establishment. His travelling companion on the four-month-long journey from Copenhagen was the newly-appointed governor, B. J. C. Wilkens, whom he would very soon have to succeed.

Edw. Carstensen came to the Gold Coast at a time of transition. The nineteenth century opened a new situation for European establishments on the Gold Coast. The slave trade was becoming illegal and the chief economic base for the European presence and activity on the Coast was apparently removed. The general thrust now was to find another kind of enterprise, and serious attempts were made to justify a continued presence there. For Denmark, in particular, the economic situation was precarious. The country was in great economic difficulties following the wars of the preceding decades, and understandably, after a 200-year-long presence in Africa, Denmark was unwilling to give up any of its “territories”.

Edw. Carstensen advanced to first assistant immediately upon his

arrival. The previous first assistant, Lucas Dall, who had been appointed assistant to the Danish Establishment in 1834, resigned the same day and went back to Denmark. Then, only three months later, on 26 August 1842, Governor Wilkens died, and Carstensen was named interim governor to the Establishment, at the age of 27.

With great energy he threw himself into the managerial affairs of the Establishment, intent on bringing about order. To secure his position, and to prevent a new appointee being sent out from Copenhagen, he applied to the King for a permanent position as governor. Probably in an effort to save money the response was much delayed - until 30 July 1844, when he felt it necessary to go to Copenhagen himself to present his case. His strategy was successful: he was duly appointed.

Edw. Carstensen was born on 7 September in 1815 in Tripoli. His father, Johan Arnold Carstensen, had been an instructor at the Naval Academy and later became consular secretary in Algiers. He was then sent to Tripoli, first as charge d'affaires; then consul and consul-general. After this he held the position of consul-general in Morocco and, finally, he was appointed consul-general in Christiania [Oslo], Norway.

Edw. Carstensen's mother, Anna Magdalene Ulrich, also came from a much-travelled family; and her father, too, was in the diplomatic service. She herself was born in Reval [Tallinn], Estonia. Her father later became consul-general in Algiers, where she was to meet Johan Arnold Carstensen.

In April 1841, Edw. Carstensen completed his degree in law, and, on 19 October the same year, he applied for the position of second assistant to the Danish Establishment on the Gold Coast. In the application he wrote that being the oldest of his father's eight children, he hoped to obtain the position in order to ease his father's burden of bringing up and providing for all the children. He also stated that he had the specific qualifications required for the position. He wrote:

*The undersigned, having spent his early years on the coast of Africa, if not completely acclimatized is yet more accustomed than most people to the influences of the climate; and also because of an upbringing in North Africa, in addition to later education, especially with regard to competence in languages, he will be able to communicate with the subjects of the greater trading nations in their own idiom.*²²

²² Edward Cartensen : Personal Diary 1845 - 46. Unpublished papers. By courtesy

But in spite of his optimism regarding his ability to endure the climatic conditions, he suffered from attacks of “climate fever”, and in April 1847, he applied for home leave to restore his health.

While in Denmark, he temporarily resigned from his position as governor in order to perform his duty as military commander in local conflicts close to the German-Danish border. During his days as a student in Denmark he had served in the King’s Guard, from which he was retired with the rank of captain in 1843. When he again returned to the Gold Coast, on 20 February 1850, it was with the overall mission of relinquishing the Danish possessions in Africa.

On 17 April 1850, he left the Gold Coast for the last time and landed in Copenhagen on 1 July 1850. After his resignation as governor, on 6 October 1850, he was entitled to carry the title and to keep the governor’s uniform; as well as being granted the rank of lieutenant-colonel, at an annual allowance of 2000 *rixdaler*. It was, however, not his purpose in life to live in the past. He eagerly applied for new positions. It was primarily in local administration he had his interests, and on 18 March 1853, he was appointed as county manager to Ringsted, Denmark. He kept this office until 1867, when he resigned and was entitled chamberlain. Thereafter he became the superior commissioner at the voting for the eventual sale of the islands St. Thomas and St. John in the West Indies to the United States. He then took up residence in Copenhagen, and died there on 5 September 1898.

Edw. Carstensen had a somewhat chequered marital history. On 10 July 1842, on the Gold Coast, he entered into a local marriage ceremony with the extremely young Euro-African Severine, whom he came to regard as “the true love of his life”. He declared before marrying Severine, that: *the thought of living here on the Coast for many years without a woman’s heart close to me is intolerable*. She died the following year, on 23 September 1843. Five years later, during his stay in Copenhagen, he married Adelaide Franciska Marie Frederikke Emilie Brun on 8 December 1848. They had a son and a daughter. Ten years after her death, on 10 April 1875, he married Marion Johns. She died only half a year later; with Carstensen outliving her by 23 years.

The Official Reports

The contents of this book comprise the reports Edward Carstensen wrote during his term of office as Danish governor on the Gold Coast, as well as written statements he gave to his superiors at sea, on his two journeys to Denmark during that period. They are organized in a chronological order, based on the original compilation made by Prof., Dr. phil. Georg Nørregård, published in 1964.

The reports included here reflect Carstensen's personal opinions alongside those of a more economic and managerial content. Those of greatest general interest are probably Carstensen's considerations in connection with the cession of the Establishment to the British, the transfer of Danish control regarding trade on the Coast to an emerging British colonial administration.

The original reports and the subsequent duplicates are all contained in the files of the Guinean Journals, originally kept at the General Customs Office and the Guinean-West Indian Office of the Board of Trade. They are now to be found in *Rigsarkivet* (The National Archives) in Copenhagen. At the Board of Trade they observed the method of filing all reports on a particular case in *one* file, which meant, at times, that it might be difficult to find the specific report one might be looking for. For this compilation it has therefore been impossible to find the original report in some cases, but then the duplicates have been used. Because of the irregularity of shipping and the postal service, the Establishment always prepared duplicates to dispatch home. They are most likely to be found by number. However, the reports Carstensen wrote during his home leaves or on journeys, are not to be found in duplicates.

Most of the letters prepared by the Establishment are written on blue quarto sheets and thus easy to find in the files of the archive. But some are also written on white or foolscap sheets. The reports from the journeys are for most part written on white paper or foolscap. Some of the letters are handwritten by the signatory in person, others by clerks, in some cases by the assistants of the Establishment. When ships came in the roads, all hands were needed to get the dispatch home ready as quickly as possible.

Many of the letters originally carried the heading: *Most humbly*

reported. This is left out, as are the signatures of “most humbly” or “most respectful” at the end of the letters. The addresses are left out, but all the earliest letters were addressed to the General Customs Office and the Board of Trade in Copenhagen; after the change of government in 1848, the letters were addressed to either the Ministry of Finance or the Colonial Office of the Ministry of Finance.

The Translation

I have translated the reports with the intent of keeping the text as close to the original as possible. Hopefully, I have managed to maintain a sense of the original style of Carstensen, often repeating himself, sometimes rambling and at times incoherent, even though it seems he liked to express himself in writing. In most cases the place names and names of persons have been kept as in the original text. Likewise, the original terminology when referring to Africans has been kept, even though some might find this offensive. It is also a possibility that the original transcription from the handwritten documents has caused misinterpretations and misspellings. For those who want to study the original published material from 1964, I have included the original pagination by using as reference mark |- -|. Also to make a distinction between the original comments made by either Carstensen or the transcriber, which were marked with () in the text, I am using [] to indicate my own editorial notes and comments.

The footnotes were originally made by Prof. Georg Nørregård. They were intended for Danish readers primarily, but I have included them, because of the biographical information they contain. In the original edition, Nørregård regrets that he has not been able to give extensive supplementary information, because relevant source material was not available in Denmark. This is especially the situation where the personal histories of the Africans and the Euro-Africans at the forts are concerned. Here we can only refer to what the actual reports are saying.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have had excellent help in the realization of this project. Without the untiring enthusiasm and encouragement from my mentor and “teammate”, Selena Axelrod Winsnes, in her own right a prolific translator and editor of published Danish primary sources, this project would never have happened. She put the idea into my head that I was the one to translate Governor Edw. Carstensen’s documentary reports from the Gold Coast. I was fully aware of the historical impact of these reports, since I had notified that most of the Danish authors on Danish Guinea (among others Thorkild Hansen in his trilogy on the Danish slave trade) referred extensively to these reports in their works. So it could only be right to make this material available to a broader audience, as well as to scholars and students of West African history. But the somewhat bureaucratic and stilted Danish language in the letters were sometimes neither easy to understand nor easy to translate into a readable English. But I was inspired by the challenge and the expectation that a translation of Edw. Carstensen’s reports would be the last leg in the great project of translating the published Danish primary sources connected to the Danish-Norwegian period in West Africa. Selena has almost finished the work herself; I was the one to fulfil her dreams of the complete corpus. Therefore, I dedicate this work to Selena, in appreciation of the enormous achievements she has accomplished in this field.²³

I am also very grateful to Prof. Per Hernæs of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), who immediately agreed to write an introduction to this translation. I remember I informed him some years back that I was considering taking up the task of translating Edw. Carstensen’s letters. He answered that would be great, but that it would be a huge challenge to perform. Well, now the work is done, and I am happy to have him on board in this publication.

In Denmark, the project has received much support and interest. First of all I wish to thank the original copyright holder, Selskabet for Udgivelser af Kilder til dansk Historie (The Society for the publication of Danish historical sources) by its chairman Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen,

²³ In August 2008, Selena Axelrod Winsnes was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Letters for distinguished scholarship by the University of Ghana, Legon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

for unconditionally accepting a translation of their publication and for his good wishes to everybody involved both in Norway and Ghana. I also wish to thank Erik Gøbel of the National Archives and Henriette Gavnholdt Jakobsen of the Danish Maritime Museum, Kronborg, for their unconditional permission to reproduce the illustrations that I wanted to have in this book. I also appreciated the quick response to my requests on military matters from *Tøjhusmuseet* - The National Museum of Military History, in Copenhagen.

Finally, I wish to thank my publisher, Akoss Ofori-Mensah of Sub-Saharan Publishers in Accra, for enthusiastically accepting this extensive work for publication.

Tove Storsveen
Oslo, Norway
2009

[19] 6 September 1842

The death of Governor Wilkens and the subsequent distribution of offices. Wulff, a civil servant, combines the positions of warehouse keeper, bookkeeper and secretary. Carstensen takes over as governor. Relations with neighbouring Negro tribes described as peaceful. Installation of Atha, Prince of Akim. The plantation Frederiksgave and the price on coffee. The agree.

G. J. 270/1842; duplicate G.J.297/1843; an extract 271/1842, filed under 539/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 6 September 1842

A heavy duty rests on the Establishment to report to the distinguished Board the death of the Interim Governor Wilkens²⁴. On 26 July, Governor Wilkens came back to the fort after a three -day stay at the plantation Frederiksgave²⁵. In the morning of the same day, he caught a fever, and after a few days, gall ran into his blood, thus complicating the illness. With repeated [treatment] of emetics and laxatives the complaint was finally struck back, but the patient was left in an extremely weak condition. However, the governor felt better, and every day his friends found him more cheerful and he was looking forward to a quick convalescence. Indeed, on Sunday 21 August, he drove out to get some exercise and fresh air to build up his strength. But all of a sudden, only two days later, symptoms of dysentery appeared. For two weeks the patient suffered from diarrhoea, but the doctor [20] said the remedies that were used would stop it, but no, the diarrhoea turned to dysentery. On Tuesday 23 August the illness, which in this country is extremely dangerous, was in this case so severe that during the night of 26 August, at 11:30, the patient had to succumb.

Governor Wilkens died peacefully, he did not know death was so close, and its sudden arrival saved him from sad thoughts like being conscious of the inevitability of death (which we were already aware of on that Friday morning) would have caused him. Governor Wilkens was buried on Saturday 27 August in the afternoon. The burial was decent and solemn.

²⁴ Bernhard Johan Christoph Wilkens, b. 1810, naval officer, interim governor in Guinea 1842.

²⁵ Frederiksgave, the royal plantation at Sesemi, about 20 km north of Christiansborg, was reconstructed in 2008.

The Establishment regrets that recent events, namely the death of Governor Wilkens, the many transactions caused by the Negroes' New Year's celebration, the civil servants' incompetence in connection with registration and auction of the estate of the late Governor Wilkens, hindered the dispatch of a voluminous extract of the Establishment's Council and Negotiation Protocol. It will not be forwarded with this report, but be presented to the distinguished Board when another ship leaves the Coast in two weeks' time. The honorary Board will therefore in this report find the Establishment's decision as to the dispute regarding bookkeeping and secretarial functions. The following is a direct report: The Establishment was of the opinion that the bookkeeping office should first be offered to Mr. G. Lutterodt²⁶, who is on allowance [*vartpenge*²⁷] as a civil servant, and then to the garrison surgeon, Dr. Sannom²⁸, but with the secretarial function separated. The Establishment's motive for doing this was that a separation [of the two offices] had been the practice until three months ago, and the Establishment at the time felt that the office of secretary should, if possible, be in the hands of a judicial officer – and that even in this recent, exceptional, situation it should continue to be in force. The Establishment felt, further, that the forthcoming arrival of a Danish, [21] transport ship presumably would change the situation concerning what might be decided regarding the appointment to office; also that the short-term appointment to office to one who is totally ignorant of the function might cause difficulties for the Establishment. The Establishment therefore approached Mr. G. Lutterodt with an offer of the position of bookkeeper, separated from the office of secretary until the arrival of the Danish ship. Mr. Lutterodt could not undertake the engagement for such a short period of time. The Establishment then turned to the garrison surgeon Sannom with the same offer, describing

²⁶ George Lutterodt, merchant in Accra, previous assistant at Christiansborg until he was dismissed in 1816 and then came on allowance, but in 1842 he was appointed executor of the estate of W.J. Wulff. In 1847 he was informed that in future he would be given no further appointments in royal service. Owned a plantation close to Frederiksgave, called "De forenede brødre" (The United Brothers). Presumed dead around 1857.

²⁷ [The term should be *ventepenge* [waiting money], a compensation paid to a civil servant during temporary unemployment.]

²⁸ Fritz Sannom, (1808-76), garrison surgeon in Guinea 1836-43.

the situation to him, and [noting] the fact that he had, earlier, and for a long time, supported the Establishment as bookkeeper, and, finally, that in these sad and difficult times he would be giving the Establishment same important service by accepting the post of bookkeeper until the arrival of the Danish transport ship. Dr. Sannum's answer was that he could take over the bookkeeping only in connection with the post of secretary, and furthermore, the answer was given in such a manner that the Establishment saw no need for further correspondence with him. The Establishment was then forced to combine the offices of keeper of the warehouse with those of bookkeeper and secretary by turning to a civil servant, namely Assistant Wulff²⁹.

On 27 August Captain Carstensen took over the management of the royal Danish-Guinean Establishment and on 28th the command of the fort and its garrison. In order for Assistant Wulff to keep up with his obligations³⁰, the Establishment decided that Wilhelm Lutterodt³¹ should be offered the position as an unpaid [voluntary] supernumerary [reserve assistant], to lend a helping hand with the office work. This young man, the only one outside the fort familiar with the office work, will be further mentioned in later reports and highly recommended to the Board.

The Establishment's relations to those Negro chiefs and tribes subjected to Danish sovereignty, [22] are at the moment particularly satisfactory, to which the rumours of the late Governor Wilkens' terrifying expedition contributed substantially. Good reports from the Lower Coast³² tell that the tribes are in good mood. The Spaniard Mora

²⁹ Wulff Joseph Wulff, (1809-42), assistant in Guinea 1836-42, [see Selena Axelrod Winsnes *A Danish Jew in West Africa, Biography and Letters 1836-42 (2004)*, an annotated translation of Carl Behren's edition of Wulff's letters and diary notes, *Da Guinea var danske* (Copenhagen 1917)].

³⁰ Occasioned by this arrangement, on November 1842, the General Customs Office and the Board of Trade in Copenhagen expressed: a combination of the two offices of bookkeeper and treasurer was not to be recommended.

³¹ Wilhem Lutterodt, son of Georg L., voluntary at the book-keeping office at Christiansborg 1834-39.

³² Governor Wilkens' expedition against the Portuguese slave trader Don José Mora took place in the summer of 1842. On board a freight carrier with 150 men, he sailed towards the Negro town of Way, about 30 km east of the estuary of Volta River, to take him by surprise, but Mora escaped through a window, and Wilkens only managed to seize some few slaves, whom he brought back to Christiansborg.

is out of Danish territory³³, and the people of Vay are reported to be threatening with delivery to Danish authorities if he ever returns to the area. The influence of the Establishment in the northern part of the Danish territory has gained considerable strength by the installation and confirmation by the Danes of the Akim chief Atha. This took place on 25 August; and of all the uncertainty, the demands for remunerations and the allusions to the English, which Atha uttered during his installation (the Establishment managed to clear away all difficulties), it was high time that the young chief was bound to the Establishment by oath, and by the even more unbreakable *fetisspisen*³⁴. Present at the installation was the Akuapem chief Adum, and several cabuceers and towns.

In a few days the Abudée [Aburi] cabuceer Quafung will arrive. An independent cabuceer from Akim, Adjemang, has announced his arrival at the chief fort. Presumably it is his intension to make a petition for the Danish flag and ask for protection from the Establishment. Although the abovementioned chief's stay here for a while will result in considerable expense on the royal treasury, the political advantage for the Establishment should be considered as more important. It would strengthen the relations to the Establishment of the mentioned chiefs as well as the peaceful relationship between the two.

The plantation Frederiksgave this year provides a magnificent show of fertility and production capacity. The coffee trees could hardly bear the weight of the manifold fruits, and the harvesting which started this month, will presumably be unusually rich. The Establishment must on this occasion make the distinguished Board aware, [23] that the existing price, which has been fixed by the Board, will not be realized by this expected rich harvest except for the officials' necessities, even in a particularly modest quantity, since cheaper market prices are in competition with the prices of the Establishment. The existing price on coffee was fixed by the Board in order to encourage the growth of coffee. The cultivators could deliver the coffee in the royal warehouse and therefore received the fixed high price. This possibility has for long attracted the cultivators, but the high price on coffee has prevailed despite the reason for its existence having ceased to exist. If the distinguished

³³ The Danes called the coast east of the Danish forts, the Lower Coast, and the coast to the west, the Upper Coast.

³⁴ ["to eat fetish"]

Board would not decide that the new coffee should be forwarded home, the Establishment would most humbly ask for the authority to fix the price on the coffee for each harvest from the Establishment's property, in accordance with the local, current prices. If the new coffee, in accordance with the present trading conditions, could be sold for 12 pounds per 1 *pjaster*³⁵, the sales and consequently the income to the royal treasury would be accordingly higher, than if the supply should be shipped home by the expensive way via England³⁶.

What was advantageous this year for the vegetation, the extraordinary heavy rain and the humidity that followed, has, however, had a deplorable effect on the health situation here on the Coast. Illness rages among the Whites, Mulattos and Negroes. Of the three remaining officials in the fort, none have avoided the injurious effects of the air. The ague will not leave Assistant Wulff, Governor Carstensen had ague three weeks ago, and again these days, but not so severe. The Establishment trusts that the clean and healthy air that can be expected at the end of this month, will chase away the *cinque sous* season's³⁷ cold and mist and the *cinque sous* season's bad influence on the health.

The Danish Establishment still stands on friendly terms to the English and the Dutch authorities here on the Coast.

Edw. Carstensen/W. Wulff

³⁵ [1 *pjaster* = 1.8 *rigsbankdaler* [national bank daler]/rixdaler or courantdaler (Justesen, 1983) 1 rixdaler was divided into 6 marks of 16 shillings each. This was the currency used throughout the nineteenth century. The accounts of the Danish-Guinean Establishment were kept in *Rixdaler Guinean Courant*. i.e. Rdlr. g. Ct. For a detailed account of the monetary system, see Marion Johnson, "The cowrie currency of West Africa", *Journal of African History* (1970), pg 17-49, 331-53.

³⁶ On 30 November 1842, in Copenhagen, it was decided that the coffee should be sold to local, current price. (Guinean Journal 271/1842).

³⁷ [The *cinque sous* season was a term used by the Danes to indicate the period in August when there was a great deal of fishing for a bream called sinkesu, (i.e. wet and cold climate, "bad season"). See Selena Axelrod Winsnes, *A Danish Jew in West Africa* (2004), p. 118.]

|24| 26 October 1842

On watch guns from Fort Christiansborg.

G.J. 286/1843, filed under 309/1843; duplicate 313/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 October 1842

At the handover of the command of Christiansborg, the late Governor Wilkens directed that for all future times guns should be fired morning and evening from the fort. To this command, which the late Governor Wilkens passed on as a matter of military command, I have the following remarks: despite the maintenance of the guns, fired by three-pound cannons, the cost of the ammunition requires an annual amount of approximately 200 Rdl. g. Ct. I must most humbly therefore ask that such an amount of money be granted. From June this year guns have been fired regularly morning and evening. Governor Wilkens regarded it below the dignity of the fort not to fire guns, but I am of the opinion that the dignity of the fort would be far more affected if they should cease. It would be insulting to Chief Fort Christiansborg as a post of military command to do less than its neighbour, the small Fort St. James. The inhabitants might, in their opinion, consider the fort as weakened in strength, if the guns should cease to be fired. In accordance to the above mentioned it is my respectful request that the required sum for maintenance of the guns may be granted to the Establishment³⁸.

Edw. Carstensen

26 October 1842

Sergeant Autrup unsuitable as assistant schoolmaster and non-commissioned officer, resolution to demobilize and repatriate him. Akim and Akuapem. The health situation.

G.J. 287/1843, filed under 925/1849; duplicate 314/1843.

³⁸ The expenses regarding the use of watch guns, were approved by a royal decision on 20 January 1843 (G.J. 309/1843).

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 October 1842

By 7 January this year the distinguished Board contacted the late Governor Wilkens by a letter, in which he was asked to investigate [25] whether Sergeant Autrup was qualified as assistant schoolmaster at the fort's boy school.

By observing Sergeant Autrup in his activities, his care and capability in [following] the regulations established by the Board, Governor Wilkens was convinced that Sergeant Autrup complied only a little, or, in fact, not at all, with what one in this regard could justifiably expect. It was the intention of Governor Wilkens to report his observations to the Board, when he in another circumstance by watching Sergeant Autrup's performance when inspecting the soldiers, found the practice of the infantry drill highly imperfect. But worse than that, they were absolutely ignorant of the handling of the battery cannons. When salutes were ordered, the cannons were loaded by a constable and his assistant (with the result that for a salute of 13 shots, according to the constable's statement, the preparation would take three hours). Governor Wilkens then ordered Sgt. Autrup to practise the battery drill with the garrison of the fort. But this exceeded Sgt. Autrup's abilities; his drilling practice was so incorrect and confused, that Gov. Wilkens himself had to drill the soldiers in the cannon exercise, like the one practised in our military academies. Gov. Wilkens stated repeatedly, in discussion with his councillors, his view that Sgt. Autrup was far from being of any use to the Establishment, but rather seemed an obstacle to the tasks he was entrusted to undertake. In these conversations it was stated as an excuse for Sgt. Autrup, which the attached testimonial from the doctor also could justify, that it was proved that the ague had weakened his mental abilities, which was frequently more or less apparent, and in addition had left him with a weak and sickly constitution.

Finally, Gov. Wilkens informed his councillors that his definite decision was that Sgt. Autrup should be repatriated, and that he would be informed about this decision if the councillors did not have any objections. As the councillors were in total agreement with Gov. Wilkens in this matter, Sgt. Autrup was told by Gov. Wilkens to be ready for home leave as soon as a suitable shipping opportunity should arise. This happened a few days before Gov. Wilkens was brought to his sickbed. The case was therefore not presented to the Council, since Gov.

Wilkens wanted to make a report to the Board [26] and then present it to the Council. After the death of Gov. Wilkens, Sgt. Autrup addressed himself to the Council asking if he still should honour the announced order by Gov. Wilkens, and the Council confirmed that order to Sgt. Autrup.

As Sgt. Autrup will be repatriated, as noted above, it is the humble request of the Establishment to the distinguished Board that Sgt. Autrup, whose mental abilities and bodily strength had been weakened by the Guinean climate, should be recommended for help and support by the Board³⁹.

After staying here for more than two months, the Akims and the Akuapems have at last started their journey home. The stay of the heads of these Negro nations has this time been quite useful to the Establishment, since its reputation and power over them have been acknowledged and strengthened. The Akim chief Atha dared at one of the first palavers, to appear obstinate to the governor by refusing to comply with his decision in the *palaver*⁴⁰. This gave the governor the desired opportunity, with a strict and threatening reproach, to humiliate the young prince and break down his pride, so that the subsequent decisions in several important palavers were made much more easily. Among these were palavers of political significance, in short mentioned as: the regulation of the relationship between Akim and Akuapem, over whose land the last mentioned Atha has claimed some kind of sovereignty, especially because of Cabuceer Adum's total incompetence as sovereign; since the Akims had demanded customs from passing traders, this was emphasized as strictly forbidden, and Atha promised that no such thing should happen again; a command to Atha not to impose exorbitant fines on his subjects, to which the Akims were promised protection from the Establishment if Atha, against his promise, should treat them tyrannically; the cabuceers Adum and Quafung of Akuapem promised in agreement and with greater vigour than before to rule the tribes subject to them; important in regard to Akuapem's question of succession after Cabuceer Adum. (We humbly

³⁹ Autrup was later recommended as seargent to the West Indian troops (G. J. 606/1844).

⁴⁰ *Palaver* derives from the Portuguese *palavra*, i.e. word, speech. The term was widely used meaning discussion, argument, disagreement, conflict.

hereby refer to the Establishment's Council and Negotiation Protocol extract no.184.⁴¹) [27] The health situation is now satisfactory in the fort. The *cinque sous*-time has lasted extremely long this year; this in connection with the previously heavy rainy season, and the thereby following climatic influences which proved to be especially injurious this year's "bad season". But both weather and air have gradually improved since *ultimo* September and contributed to a high degree to chase away the consequences and also the continuation of new attacks of ague, from which both Governor Carstensen and Assistant Wulff in the last days of September have suffered.

Edw. Carstensen/W. Wulff

26 October 1842

Dispute about the sovereignty over Akim and Akuapem. The case of the Danish flag in the town of Blækhuso. Nevertheless, friendly relations between the English and the Danes. Changes in the administration of the English possessions on the Coast.

G.J. 288/1843, filed under 311/1891; duplicate 315/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 October 1842

I take the liberty to report to the distinguished Board the following event, an event which in itself is insignificant, but which affects a right, which the Danish government wants to be maintained: namely the sovereignty of Denmark over Akim and *in casu* Akuapem.

I shall inform the Board about the situation as comprehensively as possible. On 16 September the English commander of Fort St. James,

⁴¹ According to the Protocol extract no.184 (G.J. 292/1843) the present successor Ajeha was of too limited mental talents to occupy the position. He had for 5 years attended school at Christiansborg without receiving any knowledge; unwillingness made him leave school, and he was now ill. In his place the Duke of Akuapem, Adum, with "all his lieutenants and accompanied by the cabuceers and their Elders of the towns Akim, Ussue, Labadie and Thessinge", had agreed to that the halfbrother of the duke, Ussu-Akim, should remain as a permanent successor to the Akuapem stool. Which the Establishment accepted and an enduring conflict had come to an end.

Mr. Topp, and Mr. Bannerman⁴², an English merchant, came on a visit. During the conversation Mr. Bannerman mentioned that he had heard that the Negroes at Blækhuso were in possession of a Danish flag, although [28] the town belonged to him and to the late commander and merchant, Mr. Hanson, in Accra. To this I answered that I knew that Governor Wilkens during his stay at the plantation Frederiksgave, had been greeted by the Negroes of Blækhuso and was requested by these for a new flag (Danish) instead of the old and useless Danish flag they possessed. I promised, however, to check up the situation. The town Blækhuso (by the English written and pronounced Barekhouso) is situated just behind the plantation Frederiksgave, half a mile from the north of the latter. The number of inhabitants may be estimated to a little more than 100.

On 19 September Commander Topp sent seven soldiers to Blækhuso to fetch some slaves belonging to Mr. Bannerman, and then again two soldiers to claim the possession of the Danish flag. The Blækhuso Negroes did not hand over the flag and gave as reason that they belonged to the Danish Establishment and wanted to hear the opinion of the Danish governor on the matter. On 23 September several messengers from Blækhuso came to the fort, complaining about the conduct of the English and protesting against their claims. They demanded protection from the Danish Establishment under which they had always belonged, like the rest of the Akuapem. I told these messengers that they should respect all that belonged to Messrs. Bannerman and Hanson in Blækhuso, and thereby avoid any disputes with the English. But they should, however, keep the Danish flag, and if the English soldiers still were in Blækhuso or should come there in future, they should immediately report this to the supervisor of the plantation Frederiksgave, with whom I would arrange for their protection.

As Commander Topp and Mr. Bannerman had come to me personally in the fort, concerning the matter mentioned, I decided to approach Commander Topp and Mr. Bannerman personally in Fort St. James. I found Commander Topp present, Mr. Bannerman was called for, and the result of the debates, which for that matter were carried on in a very amicable and friendly manner, was that I launched

⁴² Merchant William Topp, English commander at Fort St. James, while James Bannerman, was a merchant in British Accra.

my ultimatum and declared that the private claims of Mr. Bannerman at and to Blækhuso, would be respected and protected by the Danish Establishment, but that I could in no way permit that Mr. Bannerman or Mr. Hanson by buying people and land in Akuapem should make the country British. Mr. Bannerman and Commander Topp supported their claims essentially for the same reasons by means [29] of that Governor Maclean⁴³, in his dispute with Governor Mørck⁴⁴, especially in the case of Crobbo, sought to deprive Denmark of its sovereignty over Akim and Akuapem. The main argument of these gentlemen is that the English have driven the Ashantis out of the country. They have paid the Danes for their assistance, and what Blækhuso is concern, Messrs. Bannerman and Hanson have during the reign of the Ashantis, protected that town against the extortions of the conquerors. For that reason and from then on, this same town is attached to the English possessions as a conquest from the Ashantis, and privately to Messrs. Bannerman and Hanson because of economic obligations. I finished the argument with the suggestion that as the dispute now turned on a principle which *we* could not decide and not agree on, everything ought to remain in *status quo*, and the matter be reported to our respective governments. The gentlemen perfectly agreed with me.

I must call to the attention of the Board that this matter in no way affects the mutual relationship between the Danish and the English authorities, between whom the best understanding prevails uninterrupted, nor even apparently, the English subject's trade and free intercourse with the Akims and the Akuapems. The negotiations between Commander Topp and myself are ignored by most of the people. This actually shows that the principle of the case is the violated sovereignty of Denmark over the mentioned countries.

The object that caused the violation is, and remains, most futile. I emphasize these two sides of the case, for in the Crobbo-affair of Governor Mørck the events *here* turned attention away from, and prevented, a decision on the question of the sovereignty of Denmark over Akim and Akuapem. In the present situation the case is the opposite, and the Danish Establishment on this coast cannot but

⁴³ George Maclean, English governor in the Gold Coast 1830-43, died 1847.

⁴⁴ Frederik Siegfried Mørck (1800 – 39), naval officer, Danish governor in Guinea 1834-39.

sincerely wish that the question about the mentioned sovereignty of Denmark would be diplomatically decided in Europe. Partly because of what has happened, and partly because of what in future might come, I have mentioned to the Board the importance “in future” of having a decision on this frequently raised question.

[30] What I now take the liberty of reporting to the distinguished Board, will explain my statement. There will be a great change on this Coast regarding the English possessions. As the Board knows, these [the English possessions] have for many years been administered by a committee supervised by the English Colonial Office, while their government has granted £4,000 to defray expenses. The growing interest in England about the civilization of Africa and the suppression of the slave trade, are being, as is well known, encouraged by the government, and that seems to support private enterprises by acting with a show of strength in this country.

Almost a year ago one Dr. Madden⁴⁵ travelled officially along this coast. He observed everything (*à vol d’oiseau*) and wrote it all down. He visited English Accra for one day and that was enough for *him* to evaluate the situation in the country. Apparently in order to check up the Danish-Guinean possessions, he came to the fort, asked if the fort was for sale, and when this was denied, returned to Accra (This is what I have been told, word for word, by the English in Accra). This year Dr. Madden has presented the fruits of his journey in a pamphlet⁴⁶ (in which Governor Maclean is badly treated) to the English House of Commons when Lord Stanley⁴⁷ announced that a change would take place in the administration of the possessions on the Gold Coast.

I have written down the abovementioned, since this could possibly indicate the nature of certain aspects of the changes that are going to take place. Nothing official has yet been announced, but from reliable sources I can report the following: the expenses of the English possessions

⁴⁵ Richard Robert Madden, English reporter (1798-1886) was in 1841-43 delegated as commissioner in order to make inquiries into the administration of British West Africa, which he made a report of.

⁴⁶ Report of H.M.s Commissioners of Inquiry on the State of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast at Sierra Leone and the Gambia, with some Observations of the Foreign Slave Trading Factories along the Western Coast of Africa in the Year 1842, *Parliam. Papers 1842. Reports from Committees*, vol. XII, 13-118.

⁴⁷ Edward George Geoffrey Smith, Earl Stanley, English politician (1799-1869), Colonial Secretary 1833-34 and 1841-44.

on this coast are now regulated to £24,000 instead of previously £4,000; military commanders shall be appointed to all the forts; Cape Coast will be the seat of the governor [31] (They are speaking of Maclean's transfer), and also the seat of *the lord chief justice* and *the Queen's advocate*. Some *lawyers* are also expected here to participate in the palavers with the natives! Every half-year *the lord chief justice* and *the Queen's advocate* from Cape Coast will be visiting the other forts. Of importance is the decision to strengthen the military position at several places along the coast. This decision means the erection of new forts, which has to a great degree resulted in the much increased appropriation to cover those expenses. These changes are expected to go into effect from January or February next year. During next year the English will occupy and have well fortified the following forts: *Apollonia*, Dixcove, *Commenta*, Cape Coast, Annamaboo, *Whinebah*, Accra and *Whydah* (The forts are named here according to their location from west to east); the names *in italic* are new places that are going to be taken into possession. As soon as the official news about these changes has been made known on the Coast, I will report it to the honourable Board.

The increase which the English forces here on the Coast will receive, will make it quite desirable for the Danish authorities here, to have established from the mother country, a certain order in the relations with the English nation, so as to avoid any legal infringement from their side, violations which certainly will be met with protests and resistance from the Establishment. If repeated actions, this might destroy the friendly and trusting relationship and coexistence, which have prevailed for a long time between the Danes and the English here, and which, if possible, should be maintained. Commander Topp has told me that his standing order is to ignore Denmark's claim on Akim and Akuapem, such an order in a newly-arrived and eager commander's hands can only all too often, create opportunities for complaints and protests to the Establishment. With all respect I take the liberty to recommend this case to the distinguished Board's special attention.

Edw. Carstensen

[32] 26 October 1842

Increasing influence of the Europeans on the Gold Coast. The coastal Negroes' dependence and fear of Ashanti. Increase in English trade; cessation of Danish trade. "Coutumes" ought to be abolished. The desirability of an Anglo-Danish treaty concerning Akim and Akuapem. The civilization of the Negroes.

*"Extract from a report dated 26 October 1842 from the acting Governor Carstensen on the Coast of Guinea to Mr. State Councillor Garlieb⁴⁸".
Logged G.J. 289/1843, filed under 311/1891.*

26 October 1842

I permit myself to inform Mr. State Councillor of a situation that I have been examining seriously since my arrival at the Coast, which ought to be considered with a special attention now that the question of the sovereignty of Denmark over Akuapem and Akim again has been brought forward. My conviction, that the English hardly would recognize the said sovereignty of Denmark, but by postponing the question, they will bring on to the Establishment humiliation caused by useless and vain protests, has made me bring up the following to the judgement of the State Councillor.

There are only few countries and nations that, for shorter or longer periods, do not react to impressions from the circumstances of the times, and are influenced by the appearance and the development of either indigenous or foreign elements. The Gold Coast is no exception in this respect. On the contrary, I am convinced that one has neglected to inform the Danish government about the many changes in the country, which might have motivated useful decisions concerning the Danish-Guinean possessions.

As a main event which in the past century has become more and more apparent, can be mentioned: the influence of the Europeans on the Gold Coast has grown to such an extent that certain measures,

⁴⁸ Peter Johann Gottfried Garlieb, Danish civil servant (1787-1870), commissioned to the General Customs Office and Board of Trade from 1832 and State Councillor in the trade and consular affairs of the Foreign Office from 1834, in that capacity he was the head of the boards of the West Indian and the Guinean possessions.

which earlier, it was feared should be known to the natives as even being considered, are now being carried through without resistance. An example hereof is the destruction of fetish-houses by the English, if the priests had offended the English government. [33] What I have already done on several occasions, when the fetish was mentioned during a palaver, and it was explained to the Negroes the fraud the festish-priests had committed, hardly any governor before 1830 would have dared to do so.

The Akims and the Akuapems are slavishly submissive, and know that they owe their existence purely to the Ashantis' fear of Whites. The coastal inhabitants are trade agents and trade assistants to the English, and the immense income from this, makes them sure and reliable adherents to the Europeans. Besides, the same fear of the Ashantis keep the highlanders in check, and thus the coastal dwellers know that only by the protection of the Whites, they are relieved of harassment from the highlanders. This is the mutual relationship between the Negro tribes and their relationship to the Europeans.

England has for long seen this new situation, and they can now rightly say about the inhabitants of the Gold Coast: "They cannot do without us". As the Negro can no longer do without the manufactured goods from England, and they need the English for the selling of their gold, ivory and especially the palm-oil. As is known, the Danes do not have any trade on the Coast, and a consequence of this is that the English benefits from the traffic of the Danes, while Denmark carries the burden of a costly administration.

The object of the dispute about the sovereignty in Akim and Akuapem is subject to the same conditions. The chiefs of these tribes are paid by Denmark, peace and order, in the country, are maintained by the Danish government. But the gold and the palm oil of Akim and Akuapem are received by the English. (Some of this trade is still in the hands of Chief War Commissioner Richter⁴⁹, but this merchant has to outbid the English merchants in gifts to the often-mentioned tribe chiefs and their lieutenants. Recently when Atha and his lieutenants departed, he gave gifts to a value of £300.)

A true revolution has taken place in the country through the increase

⁴⁹ Henrik Richter, son of Governor J.H. Richter, assistant 1816, chief war commissioner 1831, Knight of Dannebrog 1836.

of the English trade on the Gold Coast in later years. The competition is so great that the natives' profit in trade is steadily increasing. The merchants seek to obtain trade through gifts, and these gifts often exceed what [34] was formerly given by the forts for the maintenance of peace. The conclusions to be drawn from this are: The Europeans need not pay for the submission of the Negroes. (The English have long since stopped paying "coutumes", and they wonder why Denmark continues doing so). The forts ought to remain for the protection of the trade and settlement of disputes, and their maintenance is now of greater advantage to the natives than to the Europeans.

The actual circumstances seem to create opportunities for changes in the present conditions in the Danish-Guinean possessions. If Denmark cooperates with the English, they can decide the dispute of the sovereignty over Akim and Akuapem, which in any case will prove to be useful and save money. The measure might consist of a treaty with England about joint sovereignty over Akim and Akuapem, about joint efforts, like encouragement and protection of cultural enterprises, and through free admission for the missionaries, to reach goals that England has set for herself, and that Denmark first put forward: the civilization of the Negroes. As soon as such a treaty was created with England, Denmark might without hesitation abolish all pay and "coutumes" to Negroes and Negro villages, but even if such a union is not reached, it is time for "salaries and coutumes" to be abolished and for a limited sum to be fixed as a gift for services rendered.

Any "Coast-man" will support me in bringing about the abolishment of "salaries and coutumes", if the government would support it by the stay, ever so short, of a naval brig at the Coast in the months of October and November, the healthier season of the year.

[Unsigned]

26 October 1842

Desirable that an assistant and a doctor be sent out.

"Extract of a letter dated 26 October 1842 from the Acting Governor Carstensen on the Coast of Guinea to Mr. State Councillor Garlieb", extract from previous letter; G.J. 290/1843.

It is my desire that an assistant arrive with the Danish transport ship; if that is not the case, the chaplain must contribute [35] with his assistance to the Establishment. Then it would be more desirable that an assistant be sent here next year via Hamburg (whence the bark *Margrethe*, Capt. C. A. Riedel, will leave in August 1843). Dr. Sannom plans to go home after a 6-year stay here. If that occasion were to be succeeded by a clever and, if possible, a naturalist doctor, the satisfaction would be general⁵⁰.

[Unsigned]

26 October 1842

Rules and administrative measures concerning the slave trade in the Danish-Guinean possessions.

E.G. 294/1843; filed as no. 10/1842 among files for West Indian Journal 411/1862, duplicate G.J. 319/1843; here after duplicate.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 October 1842

In a letter of 11 January this year, the distinguished Board has asked the Establishment to report the same information as to general or local rules and administrative measures which are issued, concerning the Danish-Guinean possessions, in order to regulate, stop or prevent the slave trade. This also whether the measures are outgoing, issued before or after Denmark, by treaties, had pledged to abolish this trade. The Establishment regrets not being able to supply the required information to the Board, insofar as they are concerned with the period before and since the Danish abolition of the slave trade up to the year 1820, since the documents that might provide any information are not here, but are presumed to have been sent home with the papers of Governor Schiønning⁵¹. Although historical information based on oral sources concerning the period could be gathered in sufficient quantity, and to a great extent of a kind which for good reasons are not found in the official reports, but that is beyond the intention of the letter from the Board.

⁵⁰ With regard to the questions mentioned in the extract, on 25 January in Copenhagen, it was decided to postpone the decision until further notice.

⁵¹ Christian Schiønning, Danish governor in Guinea 1807-17.

[36] In the instructions for the management of the Danish-Guinean Establishment §2, no.3 and §17, are found the local enactments⁵² which since the year 1820 have been the law and objective of the Danish authorities here. According to local conditions in this country, administrative measures in whatever area, as soon as they were to be obeyed by the inhabitants of the country, could not be issued in writing, but had to be communicated by the soldiers of the Establishment. It must be added that palavers, for a long time, have been decided and still are decided by the governor alone (and the number of [cases] make it impossible for the councillors to take part in them and record them). And since nothing of the content has been recorded, and the same can occur with the soldiers, one can see from the above that most of the administrative rules prevail without anything originally having been written down. What is said here is especially so in the case of measures against the export of slaves. Since 1820 the Establishment has often taken the strongest measures as soon as rumours have reached us that export of slaves has been taking place in any part of the Danish-Guinean territory. The governors have several times, by military expeditions, carried through their threats against refractory Negro tribes, furthermore, as soon as any suspicious fact has come up that would indicate export of slaves, withholding of payment, fines, handing over of hostages and other measures have been taken. During the last decades particularly the towns of Atokko and Vay have required the application of strict measures, especially because of the stay of the Spaniard Mora, a man who, like, at present, de Sawza at Wydah⁵³, persistently resisted the measures which again and again were taken against his illegal trade. [37] What the English a few years ago said in public, that export of slaves no longer took place from Appollonia to Accra; Denmark can now say

⁵² The Instruction for the management of the royal Establishment in Guinea, approved by a royal resolution 29 September 1820. § 2 and § 17 mention as one of the main purposes, firmly and consistently to prevent the export of slaves. The Negro village that infringes on the prohibition against the slave trade could be punished by withholding of payment or customs from the Danish Establishment for an indefinite time, in accordance with the opinion of the Establishment. Civil servants will be punished by loss of position. The text of the Instruction can be found in the Guinean Copybook 1816-27, 119-43.

⁵³ Wydah, Whydah, town on the Guinea Coast, c. 300 km east of Fort Christiansborg. De Sawza is probably the same person as de Suza mentioned above.

about its possessions from Ussue to Quitta⁵⁴. The last slave trader - as known to the Board - was found by late Governor Wilkens this very year. He was a poor refugee, unable to continue the forbidden trade.

Well-known are the enactments and the accession treaties, concerning the rights of visitation, which during the last decades have been issued in Denmark. As they have no direct influence on the Danish-Guinean Establishment, they will not be described further here.

The expression "export of slaves" has been used here instead of the more common "slave trade", in order to distinguish between the trade for export and the same trade between people in the country itself. This latter or domestic trade takes place in the Danish-Guinean Establishment, and is even legally binding. For many years to come it will be impossible to enforce a prohibition against this trade, because fortune and the maintenance of life are based on this condition. The English have tried to apply the Slave Emancipation Act. According to its contents, it is the law on these coasts and regions insofar as they are subject to English rule. But their efforts have so far been in vain. Even the English themselves are seen possessing numerous slaves as personal property. It is true that they do not *buy* any slaves, but they have ways of avoiding this prohibition and recruiting their servants. Meanwhile, the two contradictory principles in the Danish and the English possessions regarding slavery, might raise conflict that would make it uncomfortable for the Danish subjects who possess Negroes. This is enforced by the utterances of the English envoy, Dr. Madden, to the English commander at St. James. He asked him if a Negro owned by a Dane took refuge in an English fort, should be considered free. Dr. Madden answered that this would be the case.

The Danish authorities cannot prevent Negroes from being carried to non-Danish territory and again be sold and finally reach a slave depot, for in the country itself the trade is free. The occupation of Wydah by the English will to a great extent stop this odious practice.

[38] The Establishment acknowledges that in the above it has only given the Board information about the slave trade here during the last decade, and especially about present times; on the other

⁵⁴ Ussue [Orsu/Osu] is the native town close to Christiansborg. Quitta [Keta] c.35 km east of Volta River.

hand the Establishment is convinced that the Board acknowledges that authentic sources of information on local authorized measures against the slave trade in other periods than those mentioned, are totally lacking, and that because of this the Board will acquit the Establishment of a negligent treatment of the questions concerned.

Carstensen / Wulff

18 December 1842

Arrival of the brig Ida with Franck, the catechist. Illness and death of Wulff and the subsequent distribution of business.

G.J. 329/1843; duplicate 367/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 18 December 1842

On Friday 2 December the Danish brig *Ida*, Capt. Jørgensen, arrived here safely, bringing a cargo with provisions for the Establishment, and a passenger, Catechist Franck⁵⁵. The hope that an assistant might be sent at the same opportunity was in vain. Conditions have become, and are even more serious since Assistant Wulff since medio November has been bedridden with dysentery. As it is known to the Board, I had, because of the circumstances after the death of Governor Wilkens to transfer both the keeping of the warehouse and the bookkeeping to Assistant Wulff, all in the expectation that by the arrival of the Danish ship, I would be able to organize the administration in accordance with the terms of the Instruction. This has more or less been dealt with, as, from the 14th, I have constituted Catechist Franck as bookkeeper, but considering the time one newly-arrived on the Coast must necessarily have to recover from a long journey, and, in addition to Assistant Wolff's lasting indisposition, I have, during the extremely hectic times around the arrival of the Danish ship, been forced to take care of all the business of the management here myself. I must here take the liberty to draw the attention of the Board [39] to the indefatigable manner in

⁵⁵ Theodor Siegfried Franck, born 1820, cand. theol., was on 26 July 1842 appointed as catechist and school teacher in Guinea.

which Voluntary Vilhelm Lutterordt has assisted me with, mainly by receiving cargo and the keeping of the warehouse. From today, 14th this month, Catechist Franck has taken over the bookkeeping business; I have to deal with the warehouse and secretary functions myself, until Assistant Wulff will be recovered, which unfortunately will take a rather long time, since he is particularly weak from the dysentery.

The above was written on 14th this month so it would be ready to be sent with the English ship *Lady Ann* – due any minute here in the roads, and will sail off again just after a few hours – thus to inform the distinguished Board of the state of affairs down here. The ship has not yet arrived and I am therefore able to report home the sad news about the death of Assistant Wulff on the 16th this month at 7:30 in the evening, as a result of dysentery and the resultant weakness. The Danish-Guinean Establishment has in Assistant Wulff lost a capable civil servant and businessman; he was well-acquainted with the conditions here and will be deeply missed.

On the 17th this month I constituted former Assistant G. Lutterodt as warehouse keeper. Catechist Franck takes over the secretarial function in connection with the bookkeeping business. To myself I have reserved the administration of estates, because that will require legal knowledge.

In spite the many activities the officials of the fort are taking care of, whereof a great deal rests on Catechist Franck, who certainly not is well acquainted with the procedures of the business; I do hope that the Establishment, by the middle of January, will be able to forward to the distinguished Board a satisfactory report about the situation here.

The brig *Ida*, Capt. Jørgensen, sailed off this morning, after unloading cargo on the 16th. This report includes a protest about missing provisions and a statement on the impossibility of filling spirit barrels on board. An omission from the shipping clerks, which I cannot ignore, affects Catechist Franck and myself in a way that is both unpleasant and has serious financial aspects. The provisions for the governor and the catechist have, apart from some preserved ginger and some bits and pieces, not been sent out. [40] Only by generous sacrifices on the part of several others, have I been provided with some provisions, but only for a short period.

I regret that time will not allow me to report the outcome of the

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visit by the Ashanti-Akim prince⁵⁶ Adjemang to the fort. I will only remark that the Establishment's relation to the native chiefs and the Negro villages have reached a desirable firmness. The good and friendly relations between the Danish, the English and the Dutch authorities remain uninterrupted. By mentioning the health situation here, I must again express the death of Assistant Wulff as a new and sad example of this year's particularly bad climatic conditions, the good season came as early as October. We were looking forward to the good influence on the health situation here, but so far we have been disappointed.

Edward Carstensen

⁵⁶ Ashanti-Akim, a nation living east of the Ashanti capital of Kumasi, 150-200 km north-northwest of Christiansborg. Akim was in fact not a nation, but included three different tribes.

10 February 1843

Purchase of furniture for the governor's residence.

G.J. 355/1843, filed under 653/1844; duplicate 451/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1843

In the Council meeting 31 January this year, the Establishment decided to supplement the governor's inventory with one mahogany dining table and 12 *ditto* chairs, bought at the auction after the late Surnummeraire Assistant W. I. Wulff, for the amount of 77 Rdl. g. Ct. The inventory of the governor is in such a bad condition that this civil servant, when taking up his assignment, was forced on his own account, to acquire almost everything that was required for a decent lodging for a governor. Constituted Governor Carstensen has informed the Council members that it was a matter of necessity to acquire the abovementioned furniture and also the impossibility of doing this on his own account. The purchase is recommended for approbation by the distinguished Board⁵⁷.

Edw. Carstensen / George Lutterodt

|41|10 February 1843

Acquisition of a barrel organ for the church at Christiansborg, and of a textbook.

G.J. 357/1843, duplicate 453/1843, here, after the duplicate.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1843

The Establishment recommends the following to the attention and approbation of the distinguished Board.

It would be most desirable if the church of Chief Fort Christiansborg could be provided with a barrel organ [positivorgel], supplied with rollers, and after recommendation from connoisseurs, sufficient amount of psalms as well as a suitable prelude to the psalms. The

⁵⁷ The purchase was approbated on 4 May 1843 (G.J. 355/1843).

mechanism should be as solid as possible, and iron should be avoided if other metals could replace it. The turning of the rollers should be by hand, since a clock work to produce the turning would make the instrument more expensive and difficult to maintain. The expenses connected with the acquisition of the barrel organ could be provided by the Mulatto treasury fund⁵⁸ which is now so substantial that an expense that will contribute to the training in singing for the Mulatto children (in second place to the solemnity of the church service), could be imposed without burdening it. If the distinguished Board should approve the above petition, it would be desirable if that object could be sent down here by the way of England as soon as possible⁵⁹.

Another expense, which also should fall on the Mulatto treasury fund, is that which could make possible the purchase of a suitable school textbook for the schools of the fort. So far Malling's *Store og gode Handlinger utøvede af Danske og Norske* ("Great and Good Achievements of the Danes and the Norwegians") has been the source of the Mulatto youth for development and learning. Of course the children do not understand any of the deeds described in that book, it is difficult to explain objects, which are of no interest to them, and for any understanding you must have preliminary knowledge of the history of Denmark and Norway. Professor Hjort's reader, which is regularly [42] used in the school education of the lower levels, could also be a suitable textbook for the adult Mulattos, if any of those wanted to participate in the classes. The Establishment needs to propose the latter case to the approbation of the Board in connection with the former, both concerning education of the Mulatto children. 50 copies of Hjort's reader⁶⁰ are the number, which the Establishment desires to be sent, if possible together with the first-mentioned object [i.e. the barrel organ]

Edw. Carstensen / G. Lutterodt

⁵⁸ The Mulatto treasury fund consisted of the money the Danish civil servants paid for the upbringing of their children raised with native women.

⁵⁹ In Copenhagen, after a research on the price, a suitable barrel organ was commissioned from organ builder J. Gregersen for 429 *rixdaler*. (G.J. 357/1843, 535 and 665/1844).

⁶⁰ Peder Hjort: *Den danske Børneven* (The Friend of the Danish children), 1839.

10 February 1843

Adjemang, Prince of Akim. Akim's relations with its neighbouring peoples. G.J. 363/1843, filed under 437/1843; duplicate 458/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1843

The distinguished Board will see, from the extract of the Council and Negotiation Protocol no. 200, that the Establishment decided to confirm the worthiness of the Prince of Ashanti-Akim, Adjemang, to accept from him the oath of allegiance to the King of Denmark. Adjemang was, thus, included, with the usual ceremonies, among the number of Negro chiefs who are acknowledged by the Danish Royal Highness. Adjemang's presence here and then his departure, ended the series of visits from Akim and Akuapem chiefs and subordinate cabuceers that started with the visit of the Akim chief, Prince Atha's arrival here in August.

With the gatherings, which palavers and the regulations of the relations between the Establishment and the concerned chiefs brought about, I was able to study the reputation of these rulers and their ways of thinking. Atha is an easy-going, young chief, controlled more or less by his mother, Dokua, the previously known masculine queen in Akim, but even more by his passions. As a recent proof of this, I have just these last days been informed that Atha, by offending the friendly hospitality in Akuapem, has brought upon himself a "whore palaver" [adultery dispute], and has to such an extent quarrelled with the inhabitants of the country, that they informed me that they wanted to go to war against the Akim prince. The Akim country has, as neighbours, on one side the hostile Ashantis, on the other side the friendly [43] Akuapems. A rupture with these would threaten the Akims with destruction. I immediately confronted Atha with this, along with severe threats, and gave him three days to flee the Akuapem country. The soldier I sent to Atha has already returned with a message from that chief, who thus sent to the Establishment his most humble apologies. The case is now settled. Moreover the Atha's payments are being withheld for one year in connection with the claims he contracted on his travel down here, when his people robbed the Akuapem town of Bosmasch⁶¹.

⁶¹ Bosmasch was located at the foot of the Akuapem Mountains, c. 60 km north of Christiansborg.

CLOSING THE BOOKS

I have already informed, at an earlier date, about the Cabuceer Adum's total incompetence, and the distinguished Board undoubtedly knows that a possibly better appointment to this cabuceer stool has been provided for.

Quafung, the other Akuapem cabuceer, is treating palavers with a seriousness and competence, which I have asked for with all the cabuceers, but have hardly found with others than this man, and with Adjemang.

I shall now describe this chief in a bit more detail, while I omit the many subordinate cabuceers who have also visited Fort Christiansborg, men, who are too unimportant in all respects to merit attention. Cabuceer Adjemang has always, in spite of not participating in the payments of salary negotiation, shown loyalty and obedience to the Danish flag. He is a man whose entire bearing justifies the reputation he enjoys among his people. Although he is in possession of all the slyness one often finds with the Negro chiefs, this can only trap those who are not familiar with and prepared for it.

I must now mention a particular circumstance when Adjemang was installed as cabuceer. He applied to the Establishment several times to be granted salary, just like Atha, Adum and some others. The answer of the Establishment was that the decisions of the distinguished Board in that respect had to be upheld, at the same time promising Adjemang to convey his petition to the distinguished Board at the earliest convenience. The Establishment can in no way recommend that Adjemang should receive payment. Such a recommendation would come into conflict with the view of the Establishment since, for a long time the conditions on the Gold Coast have been such that salaries and custom to [44] Negroes should be abolished and that the Negro chiefs and Negro villages should be rewarded for their obedience and loyalty in other ways. On the other hand the Establishment recognizes Adjemang as completely worthy, yes even more worthy than other chiefs, of an acknowledgment token of his loyalty to the Danish flag. An annual gift, forwarded to the chief on the birthday of the King, would be a suitable way to show him the Danish Establishment's satisfaction with his relationship, as long as it continues as before⁶².

⁶² A gratification to Adjemang was approved in Copenhagen 4 May 1843.

About the King of Aquambuh⁶³, the Establishment has the following to report: Some time during the first days of January this year, the Asujaleh Negroes⁶⁴ reported to the fort that the King of Aquambuh had attacked them and taken away 30 men. Two soldiers were sent to the king to remind him that half a year ago he had received his salary only because of his assurances of a peaceful relationship with his neighbours, and ordered him to immediately return the prisoners if he wanted to avoid a well-deserved punishment. On 26 January the following answer was brought to me from the King of Aquambuh: He did not recognize any governor. He had sold 15 of the Asujalees, and shortly he was going to sell the rest. If the governor wanted anything from him, he could contact him within 8 days, by which time he intended to *panyar*⁶⁵[seize] even more Asujalees.

The Establishment replied in the following way: In the evening of the same day 12 male soldiers and 13 villeins were sent to the Crepees⁶⁶ (on the other side of Aquambuh) with powder, lead and brandy, in order, with the help of this nation, to subdue the King of Aquambuh and either bring him to the fort or chase him out of the country. The Crepees are very angry with the Aquambuhs because of their frequent raids in their country. Lack of solidarity among the Crepees has so far given advantage to the Aquambuh, though they are not superior in numbers. Because of the expenses involved, I decided to try to solve the case in the manner described above, before going to Aquambuh myself. And I have such expectation of a successful outcome, that I will wait until one month [45] to see this case decided in a way that will discourage others to follow the example of the King of Aquambuh.

The relationship of the Establishment to other coastal Negroes and to others not mentioned in this report is still the very best.

Edw. Carstensen

⁶³ Aquambuh, (Akwamu), a nation located around the banks of Volta River, was in the beginning of 1700 the ruling nation around Christiansborg.

⁶⁴ Asujaleh, village on the east bank of Volta River.

⁶⁵ [*Panyar* – derives from the Portuguese *panhor*, pawn, pledge, and the verb *penhorar*, to distraint.]

⁶⁶ Crepé/Krepé, [Anlo-Ewe] a nation beyond Volta River.

10 February 1843

The possibilities for growing cash crops on the Gold Coast. The plantations of the Danish possessions. Frederiksgave as a coffee plantation.

G.J. 364/1843, duplicate 459/1843, filed under 702/1849, here, after the duplicate.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1843

One matter which is being considered with interest in the fatherland is the possibility of upgrading the Danish-Guinean possessions to be trading posts for cash crop. That this possibility is unfortunately only too unrealistic, I will try to explain below. The Gold Coast is part of the widespread Guinea Coast, which is most unsuitable for cultivation, and the main reason is the lack of rivers and waterways and the stony soil. The inhabitants have their corn- and yams plantations in long stretches far distant from the Coast, where first the soil, but especially the frequent rains, permits cultivation of local products. This circumstance makes transportation to the coast necessary, and this difficult transport, which is carried out by the help of slaves, is a new hindrance for a widespread cultivation. It would be difficult to promote cultivation of a foreign plant, while the natives only cultivate what is necessary of the corn of the country and edible roots for their own consumption. The production of a country is always dependent on, and encouraged by, consumption. As long as the Upper Coast (especially the Toulah country⁶⁷) and some islands (for example Princes⁶⁸) cannot dispose of the coffee which they grow in abundance, how can you expect trade to seek the same product in a more remote place, a place where this product would be subjected to so many contingencies and as such not be a safe object for trade and demand. On the other hand, when the produce does not [46] find a market, the producer will lose all efforts he has made and the capital he has invested. Large amounts have been spent by Danes and English on plantations on the Gold Coast, and the results have been ruined fortunes.

When one considers the Danish plantations in Akuapem, each year for as long as they have existed, they have given poor results; and what

⁶⁷ Unabel to identify.

⁶⁸ Principe, a Portuguese island in the Gulf of Guinea.

is the situation now? Only 4 coffee plantations exist with little more than half a score thousand [10,000] trees (one single plantation in Brazil counts a hundred thousand trees and more). This year has been exceptionally rich. The plantation Frederiksgave has also produced a not insignificant quantity of coffee, but the expenses have been so considerable, that the advantages of the rich harvest, so to speak, been cancelled out. The reason for this is the following: a fertile year here means the same as a rainy year, and a rainy year will always be followed by illness, especially the Guinea worm, by which the plantation workers are being hindered in participating in the harvest work, thus forcing the plantation owner to hire people to harvest the coffee beans. With this [in mind], the plantation Frederiksgave is the only one, which deserves to be called a coffee plantation. Merchant and Assistant G. Lutterodt's plantation produces only a little coffee, Merchant Svanekjær's⁶⁹ even less and Chief War Commissioner Richter's absolutely nothing! Yet, the plantation Frederiksgave under private ownership would not have existed one year. A continued production would have forced the owner to take up a beggar's staff. The soil is the worst of all surrounding plantations. Water has to be fetched from long distances. The report by Governor Mørch to the distinguished Board on 5 April 1836 gives a highly reliable account of the plantation project at the foot of the Akuapem mountains.

In accordance with the desire of the distinguished Board, I will do my utmost to take care of the plantation project here, in spite of the unpromising aspects. The coffee plants will be maintained and increased. Close to the rainy season 1,000 palm trees will be planted. This year the regular workers can do the planting, but since it must be increased every year, and constantly cleared, I must propose that the distinguished Board provide means for recruiting the necessary personnel for the maintenance of the plantation. The numbers required depend on the numbers of seedlings that will thrive, and also on other as yet unforeseen conditions.

[47] I must draw the attention of the distinguished Board to the following, concerning the palm tree plantation: The trees will not bear nuts until they are 7 to 9 years old, but this depends on the soil,

⁶⁹ J. F. Christian Svanekjær (c.1788-1843), assistant in Guinea 1816, interim governor 1819-20.

and at Frederiksgave this is, as previously mentioned, extremely poor. Secondly, sufficient water for pressing the oil out of the nuts is difficult to find. I emphasize these circumstances in order that I not, in future, be accused of short-sightedness, like the civil servants to whom the plantation project have been entrusted and for which they could not conduct themselves satisfactorily.

E. Carstensen

10 February 1843

Visit of the Prince de Joinville on the Gold Coast.

G.7. 365/1843; duplicate 460/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1843

To the distinguished Board I must relate an event which will be recorded in the annals of the Guinea Coast as extraordinary: His Royal Highness the Prince of Joinville⁷⁰ has visited the most important European establishments on this coast. His Royal Highness left France with the purpose of visiting the French establishments in Senegal. Not until his arrival there, did the prince decide to see for himself the main emporia [trading places] of the slave trade, and to sail the seas where the disputed right to visitation⁷¹ had its origin. Thus, this cruise of the Prince de Joinville along the Coast of Guinea is at the moment just as unknown to France as it was to us at the moment when the frigate *La belle poule* anchored in front of the Dutch fort St. George d'Elmina. His Royal Highness visited Fort Elmina and from here he crossed overland to the English chief fort Cape Coast Castle. From there he again weighed anchor to honour the Danish chief fort Christiansborg with his presence.

On 27 January, in the morning, I received the most surprising news

⁷⁰ François-Ferdinand-Philippe-Louis-Marie d'Orléans, Prince of Joinville (1818-1900), the third son of King Louis Philippe of France, naval officer.

⁷¹ By the treaty of 22 March 1833, England and France agreed to that naval ships should be allowed to visitate each others merchant fleet in order to search for forbidden transport of slaves.

from Cape Coast Castle that the Prince de Joinville [48] had arrived on the Coast and could be expected on his journey to the Lower Coast to anchor at the Danish chief fort. I had hardly given the necessary orders, which a message of such a distinguished visit would require, before a French frigate was announced to have weighed anchor in the Danish roads. The thick, harmattan⁷² dust prevented us from noticing the arrival of the ship earlier, but we could now barely see a first-class frigate at anchor just outside the fort. Convinced that this frigate had to be *La belle poule* with Prince de Joinville on board, I went out to present my compliments to His Royal Highness. In addition the fort saluted with 21 shots, while the frigate answered with an equal number. The Prince of Joinville received me with a courtesy that surpassed all my expectations. His Royal Highness invited me to his table [dine], and not before 7:00 [p.m.] did I leave *La belle poule*, filled with admiration for a prince who with his royal descent combines all the abilities of a handsome mariner.

His Royal Highness landed at the fort on Saturday 27 January at 7:30 in the morning. Everything that the short time could permit had been done to prepare for a decent reception of the prince. On the beach where I received His Royal Highness, the troops of Ussu town and the free Mulattos lined up with flags and banners, and the prince was accompanied by the troops to the gate of the fort, with constant firing of rifles and shouting and a deafening noise from the country's drums. In the Assembly hall of the Establishment I bade the prince welcome to Danish ground, and with the French flag waving next to the Danish, he was greeted by 21 cannon shots. The Negroes outside the fort then gave a performance showing their way of fighting in battle, which highly interested His Royal Highness. Then the town's Black dignitaries appeared in a procession in the fort to greet the French prince. The town's female Mulattos danced in the fort's yard. With this and with an inspection of the fort and other distractions, the time passed up to 12 [noon], and I invited His Royal Highness to take part in a meal, where I proposed a toast to the French King Ludvig [Louis] Philip and his illustrious (*illustre*) family. Thereupon His Royal Highness responded by proposing a toast to the King of Denmark and his family. [49]

⁷² The harmattan is caused by the north-east trade winds carrying dust from the Sahara.

After the meal I accompanied the Prince of Joinville to the English Fort St. James. After staying at the fort for about an hour His Royal Highness returned to the Chief Fort Christiansborg. Here he expressed to those present his thanks for the reception he had been given, and also invited me to accompany him on board to dine with him before departure.

At 7:30 I left the frigate *La belle poule* after His Royal Highness several times had expressed his gratitude to me for the pleasant day I had arranged for him ashore. As I disembarked, the signals to weigh anchor were already heard.

The frigate *La belle poule*, of 60 cannons, commanded by the Prince of Joinville with Mr. Lugeot as next-in-command and Mr. Touchard as aide-de-camp, accompanied by the corvette *La Coquette*, Capt. Larrieux, and the schooner (*goëlette*) *La Fine*, Capt. Lahalle⁷³. The Prince of Joinville intends to visit Whydah, Fernando Po and Gabon. And from there, to go to Brazil.

During the visit of the prince Fort Christiansborg was in the clean condition and good order that I always seek to maintain. The garrison carried out what was ordered with military deportment and skill.

Edw. Carstensen

21 February 1843

Death of Catechist Franck. Subsequent distribution of business. Arrest of a slave gang leads to prospect of war among the Negro nations. Sannom and Autrup ready to depart for home.

G.J. 366/1843, duplicate 461/1843; here, after the duplicate.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 21 February 1843

⁷³ In the records of French marine officers, printed in *Annales maritimes et coloniales*, several officers with the name Lugeol are mentioned; furthermore, the records are mentioning Philippe-Victor Touchard, naval lieutenant 1839, listed as aide-de-camp to the Prince of Joinville, Guillaume-Lucien-Emile Larrieu, captain de corvette 1840, and Ferdinand-Charles-Nicolas-Marie Lahalle, naval lieutenant 1840.

Again, for the 3rd time within half a year, the heavy duty rests on us to inform the distinguished Board about a death among the civil servants of the Establishment! On 15 February, at 7:30 in the afternoon, the catechist of the Establishment, Th. Franck, died. [50] He was ill for only a short period. On 7 February he participated in the Council meeting of the Establishment. On Wednesday 8th he felt unwell, and the following Wednesday was his day of death! Extreme jaundice, which turned into an ague, seems to be the reason for the fatal departure of Pastor Franck.

Only for a short time has we had the joy of seeing a Danish clerical official among us, again we have been deprived of a highly desired civil servant's work.

The Establishment has taken measures to ensure that services in the church of the fort will continue, if possible ever Sunday. In the same manner as it is practised in the English forts, suitable parts from the Bible will be read to the congregation either by the governor himself or by the assistant schoolmaster. In school the following order will be introduced: The assistant schoolmaster will take care of the education of the older boys, while one of the best older boys will supervise the children's education between themselves. Since the confirmation of the older boys and girls of the school necessarily must take place in the autumn, the confirmands must, if possible, be prepared for confirmation by Missionary Riis⁷⁴, who is expected to arrive here soon. If that is not possible, the young people will be confirmed by the governor. The bookkeeping business, which had been taken care of by the late Pastor Th. Franck in good order and with diligence, will, of necessity, be taken over by the governor.

The Establishment has, by dispatching 20 soldiers to Akuapem, caught 6 Aquambuh Negroes, who intended to dispose of 10 Asujaleh Negroes whom they had brought with them. The Aquambuh Negroes are now under arrest here in the fort. The Asujaleh Negroes will learn the outcome of the case in Aquambuh here in the fort. The Augna Negroes⁷⁵, allies of the Aquambuh, have challenged the fort and will

⁷⁴ Andreas Riis, Danish missionary (1804-54), admitted in 1828 to the missionary school in Basel and was sent to the Gold Coast in 1831, was in 1840-42 in Europe for recreation, then again abroad via the West Indies. (C.H. Friis: Andrea Riis, 1932). The Basel Mission was established on the Gold Coast in 1828.

⁷⁵ Augna (Awuna), a nation east of Volta River, south of the Crepees.

join forces with the King of Aquambuh. The Adda Negroes⁷⁶, on the other hand, have sent messengers to seek for permission to fight the abovementioned allies. The Akotimms (a tribe between Crepee and Augna) are also against [51] the King of Aquambuh. Thus the Establishment has high hopes that the Crepees, Addas and Akotimms will finish off the Aquambuh king and his allies. The situation here is that the Establishment must make the most of the mutual hostility of the Negro tribes in order to punish the insubordinate ones.

It would have been desirable if the fort had troops of sufficient strength to meet such situations without being forced to turn to the Negroes for help, and even more desirable, if they knew with certainty of the arrival of a war ship to the Coast every or every second year, to help the Establishment in its enterprises.

The Establishment's relation to the English and the Dutch authorities continues the best. Governor M'Lean is now in Accra, the Dutch governor is expected in Dutch Accra. Both have come down here to punish the tumultuous behaviour of the Dutch Negroes and some of the English Negroes.

The changes in the English possessions on the Gold Coast, the most important of which the Establishment has already informed the distinguished Board, are not yet definitely organized, but it is expected that it all will be decided in the month of July. There is much talk of M'Lean's being called home or transferred to The Gambia.

About the Dutch it is known that they intend to use the gold mines in the Ahanta country⁷⁷. The Dutch government have decided a sum of £20,000 Sterling for that purpose; a large number of personnel and a military force will be sent out. The Establishment takes the liberty of drawing the attention of the distinguished Board to "The Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa", London (price 5 sh), a work which contains many reports about the Gold Coast that are well worth reading.

On 11 February Dr. Sannom and Sergeant Autrup held auction over their belongings and moved out of the fort to friends in town, to wait

⁷⁶ Adda Negroes, the population around Ada town and Fort Kongensten, on the west bank of Volta River.

⁷⁷ Ahanta was the nation located to the northwest of the Dutch headquarter, St. George d'Elmina.

for the ship *Governor Maclean* which has been expected to these roads for a long time.

Health conditions in the fort and in town are now satisfactory. We would hope that by the death of Pastor Franck, the frequent deaths which have visited the Establishment lately, [52] will cease for the time being, otherwise, the Establishment is under threat of being left without any management.

Edw. Carstensen/G. Lutterodt

20 May 1843

Arrival of missionaries from Basel with a party of Jamaican Negroes to evangelize and to cultivate the soil in Akuapem. Danish trade on the Gold Coast is vanishing. English proposed as school language at Christiansborg. G.J. 433/1843, filed under 62/1850.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 May 1843

On 16 April Missionary Riis arrived at Chief Fort Christiansborg, together with other missionaries sent out from Basel, Messrs. Widmann, Halleur and Thomsen (the last one a Negro), who intend to settle down in Akuapem, in the town of Akropong⁷⁸. A number of nearly 30 emigrants (Negroes from Jamaica) would be the core of this small colony, which, unfortunately, for years will have to fight the Negroes' innate reluctance to changes in the existing *status quo*, their firm attachment to the ancestors' customs and ways, like those they had when the Gold Coast was first visited by the Europeans some four hundred years ago.

The culture and civilization of Africa challenge large resources and untiring patience, which is a purpose that could only be achieved by the united efforts of the present European establishments. England holds already the main position among the states participating in obtaining that goal. English language and education are widely spread on the

⁷⁸ The abovementioned missionaries were Johann Georg Widmann, Herman Halleur and Georg Thompson (Wilhelm Schlatter: *Geschichte der Basel Mission 1815-1915*, III, Basel 1916, 35ff.)

Coast, partly by the efforts of the Wesleyan missionaries⁷⁹. If vital interests do not argue against it, every state that owns property on the Guinea Coast should join, as closely as possible, to the efforts of the English [to further] culture and civilization. Missionary Riis' project is of such substance that it [53] could be connected to the English efforts with the same perspective: the English language will be taught and spoken in Akuapem, and as a result of this, the church services will be conducted in the English language. As soon as time and circumstances would allow, schools will be established several places in Akuapem by delegates from Akropong. The planting of several useful West Indian plants will be effectuated and if they succeed, attempt would be made to spread them around the country. Horses, mules and donkeys from the warm regions of Jamaica will hopefully reproduce and make a long sought for means of transportation from place to place.

I have mentioned the above in order to inform briefly about the undertaking of the Basel Mission in West Africa, an undertaking, which is in its bare beginning, but particularly for that reason, needs care and participation.

The influence of the Establishment in Akuapem is now of such nature that it should be possible to clear away obstacles, like fetish worship and some evil-minded persons who would stand up against general enlightenment. But it would be most important if the Establishment would pursue *its* efforts in spreading knowledge in an appropriate direction thus aiding the cause of African civilization. Here I refer particularly to the schools at the fort⁸⁰. These schools might with a new organization, suited to local conditions, be elevated to be an institution for the education of native teachers and also as an institution for training young people, who partly could be used by the Europeans as helping hands in the trade, or after completed the education might by their own efforts be able to make their own living.

As circumstances here on the Coast during the last years have changed considerably, namely by the increased influence of the English, English trade and language are now dominant. On the contrary Danish

⁷⁹ A methodist mission on the Gold Coast 1834 (C.R.Findley & W.W. Holdsworth: *The History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society*, IV, London 1922, 151)

⁸⁰ The first school at Fort Christiansborg was established in 1722 by Governor David Herrn and Pastor Elias Svane. It was meant for the Mulatto children, the offspring of the Danes at the fort.

influence, Danish trade and language are unfortunately diminished, died out or no longer heard. So it is high time that the following should be taken into consideration: on the Coast the influence of a station has always been recognized according to the extent of its trade and the importance and the means available for its maintenance. Thus the Negroes seem to get an image of greatness and power of a nation. [54] The influence of Denmark on the Negro tribes has been supported partly by the Negroes' fear of the English, who would hardly accept any action from the Negro tribes that could harm their trade on Danish territory, and partly by the highly reprehensible salary system of the Establishment. A result of the vanishing Danish trade on the Coast has been, and is, the death of the Danish language! What to a modest extent could have maintained the use of the Danish language on this Coast, would have been civil servants in great numbers. As it stands now, I am the only one speaking Danish to the Negroes and also to my house girl, who hardly understands me. Among the soldiers the Danish language has become more and more rare, in school it is even worse! In church the congregation does not understand a sentence of what is being preached!

There is hardly any prospect of Danish trade and language being revitalized here on the Coast. If that is so, why, then, keep to the pitiful *status quo* instead of going into a new direction and doing something useful here on the Coast. This can only happen (and that is hard for a Dane to admit) "by the English language and education being introduced in the Danish-Guinean Establishment". I fully realize that by suggestion this, I expose myself to criticism for lack of feeling for the Danish cause. To this I can only remark, that no one feels more painful than I, that very soon all Danish here will be dead and gone. If Danish trade, and by this the Danish influence and language again could be brought to life, I would be the last to promote a proposal which is now brought forward by me in full confidence; that only in this way would it be possible for Denmark to contribute to that great goal, the civilization of Africa.

As Danish language is rarely spoken, the schools at Christiansborg have become highly unproductive institutions. It is almost impossible to convey Danish tongue through the education alone, for the abilities of the African children are not sufficiently developed for that. This

condition also influences the disciplines, which are the subject of education here, namely religion and arithmetic. They must be taught partly in the Accra language, and the peculiar poverty of that language in this situation, is truly devastating. After such an education the pupil is dismissed from school, and has no [55] opportunity to apply the little he has learned, no opportunity to maintain the few bits of knowledge so acquired. Everything, that has taken years to comprehend, is forgotten in a few weeks time! And at the moment what perspectives are there that a competent teacher should administer the school? From this point the boys' school at Christiansborg will disappear the moment assistant schoolmaster Chr. Holm⁸¹ should drop out. Where the girls' school is concerned, the dispensation of fate has already struck, as is the case with the boys' school: there are many pupils, but no teacher. The female teacher appears at school, *observes* the girls' instructions between themselves in sewing and knitting (since she would not be able to convey any skill), and because of that: Danish is never heard between the walls of the girls' school! And this practice must continue since the situation cannot be changed, due to the lack of Danish-speaking people and suitable candidates to take up the field of teaching.

At the arrival of Pastor Franck at the Coast, I had the hope that the schools should find a strong supervisor in him – all expectations on that front were demolished by the regrettable death. This sad event has resulted in my studying carefully the situation, which is reported here, and that, after sincere considerations, I have come to this result.

I most humbly recommend this case to the consideration and resolution of the distinguished Board⁸².

Should the distinguished Board regard the proposed introduction of English language in the school education as well justified, and as such, make a resolution to implement such a change, this could then easily be done by the help of the teachers (native) from Cape Coast or Accra. In close relation to the school system is the church service. With distress

⁸¹ Christian Holm, the Mulatto son of N.C. Holm, commander at Prinsenssten, was educated in Denmark 1832, assistant schoolmaster at Christiansborg. According to Kay Larsen *Personalia og Data*, he died around 1850.

⁸² Hereby the resolution of 25 August 1843: "Further notice is expected from the governor and the clergy, as soon as he is appointed and arrives at the possessions. 1 September the same year, C.Th. Jørgensen was appointed catechist and schoolteacher in Guinea.

I have noticed that the church is only visited by school children and the garrison, for whom this is compulsory. Psalms and the word of God are read to deaf ears! I have been present at the English [56] church services at the forts in Cape Coast and St. James. With pleasure I heard the congregation's beautiful singing, Governor Maclean and Commander Topp read from parts of the Bible connected to the Sundays in question. The standing rule of the English forts is that service shall be conducted every Sunday by servants of the fort. That is highly recommendable, and the condition of the English service is such that a rule like that is possible to observe. A lay preacher would, under a similar rule, at our church service, be an embarrassment. On the other hand the need for a regular church service on a place like this, should hardly need to be justified here, and that this could take place as soon as English language is implemented in schools and at the church, confirms the example of the English forts.

Edw. Carstensen

21 May 1843

The pharmacy at Christiansborg.

G.J. 434/1843, filed under 464/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 21 May 1843

Despite the fact that the instruction of the management of the Danish-Guinean Establishment, 79th paragraph, demands that the Establishment shall control if the "Pharmacy" is kept clean and in order, despite this order having been enforced twice by governmental letters [*Kammerbreve*] 4 September 1834 and 14 April 1836, such an inspection has so far not taken place. During the short time I have been in charge of the Establishment, I have not arranged for any inspection, since my own experience tells me that under the previous state of affairs, a check of order and cleanliness and the conservation of medical remedies by examination of the condition of the pharmacy could not be practised; thus what the lack of general checks of order and cleanliness, and the most glaring negligence and carelessness during a number of years must

have destroyed, cannot in this circumstance be remedied simply by an inspection on the part of the Establishment. I regard it as my duty to report to the distinguished Board the conditions of the "Pharmacy", not alone to account for the previous order of things, but in addition to notify the Board of the necessity of ordering certain remedies from England. I admit the difficulties [57] of conservation of medicines in this country, though a lot can be done in that respect by appropriate means, which are rather well known here to the Europeans in keeping of their own house pharmacies. But what sort of effect can be expected from remedies arriving here, closed by corks, opened for use irregularly, and put back temporarily with the mentioned cork loosely attached. Indispensable remedies as rhubarb, ipecaquanha⁸³, magnesium, etc., lose their power within a few weeks and must be thrown away. A question, which I asked myself after checking the medicines of the fort, was: "Have the mixtures, the remedies which have been given to those unhappy patients, been collected from this rotten store room". If anybody should search for one or two remedies in the pharmacy of the fort, not knowing it from looks or taste, this search would be in vain because very few objects are labelled!!

I will briefly present the condition of the pharmacy as I found it when Dr. Sannom left: according to the inventory lists everything should be there, but almost everything is useless. Many of the remedies are rotten only because of having been stored for a long time, but probably, not a lesser part might be rotten because they have been kept without any order and care.

Some remedies for the pharmacy of the fort, the Establishment will be compelled to prescribe from England. As the time approaches when a Danish transport ship could be expected to leave for the Coast, a list will be given to the distinguished Board of the necessary medicines for the pharmacy of the fort, accompanied with an instruction on storing and packing.

Edw. Carstensen

⁸³ Ipecaquanha, a Portuguese root for treatment of amoebic dysentery.

May 1843

*Quarrel with the King of Aquambuh settled, he submits to the Establishment.
Anglo-Danish interference with the town of Prampram.
G.J. 437/1843.*

Chief Fort Christiansborg, May 1843

The Establishment is able to report to the distinguished Board [58] the following information on the differences with the King of Aquambuh:

As is known to the Board, the delegates of the Aquambuh, who intended to sell the Asujalean hostages, were arrested and brought to the fort. This, and particularly the threatening demonstration, initiated from the country of the Crepees, discouraged the Aquambuhs. Ussu-Akim, the successor of the Cabuceer Adum, was asked by the Aquambuh king to plead for him with the Establishment. A consequence to this was that Ussu-Akim came to the fort along with some envoys from Aquambuh and presented to the Establishment the King of Aquambuh's appeal for forgiveness. The Establishment decided that as soon as the King of Aquambuh had returned the other panyarred [kidnapped] Asujalees and further, as a sign of subjection and humility, returned to the Establishment the "Sword of honour", given to him by the King of Denmark as a token of satisfaction with his behaviour, peace and protection would again be granted to him.

The messengers from the King of Aquambuh have already returned and the Aquambuh king has submitted to all the conditions of the Establishment. The king's sword is now in the fort and will be returned when the Establishment feels sure about the peaceful intentions of the king. The expenses of this palaver will to a great extent be covered through seizure of the Aquambuh king's pay for one year. The relationship between the Aquambuhs and the Asujalees is arranged thus that those tribes are reunited under the reign of King Akotoh, though in such a way that Akotoh's relations with the Asujalees will be carefully watched by the Establishment. The Asujalees have received at King Akotoh's expense as compensation for the insults, goods at a value of 50 Rdl. g. Ct. On 5 May a cannon shot indicated that the palaver between the Aquambuhs and the Asujalees was settled and concluded by the Establishment.

The Augna people, whom the great words of the Aquambuhs encouraged to subversion, have most pitifully asked for forgiveness. They have received it, against a fine of half a year's payment of their cabuceer. This sum is being used to cover the expenses of the arming of the Adda people, which was undertaken to anticipate the Augnas. Thus this case which in the beginning looked threatening has been concluded without great expenses for the [59] Establishment. The King of Aquambuh has at last suffered the humiliation he deserved, even more so, when, three years ago, he wanted to persuade the Ashanti king to join him in attacking the Danish Establishment. On the part of the fort nothing was conducted then to examine and punish the intrigues of the King Akotoh, although valid proof was present, and the case caused a good deal of sensation. Luckily for the Establishment, the plan failed, probably because of the Ashanti king's good memory of the battle of Dudua [Dodowa]⁸⁴.

The Establishment's relations with all the Negro tribes are very satisfactory. The road through Akuapem and Akim to Ashanti is now open for the traders [*negotiants*]. Hence two soldiers are stationed on this road for the time being to be of assistance to the traders, if necessary.

Since the English town of Prampram⁸⁵ has several times hindered palavers, which circulated between the inhabitants of this town and Danish subjects in the vicinity. Governor Maclean, who was then in English Accra, decided to undertake an expedition on 3 May, from there, to the abovementioned town. At his request Governor Carstensen accompanied the expedition. The town Prampram accepted all the conditions, after the Elders had been arrested and a fetish-house was burnt down.

Governor Carstensen made himself familiar with the towns Tessing, Ningoa, Temma, Pony and Ningo. Fort Fredensborg is a heap of ruins, the bastion Augustaborg⁸⁶ lacks only guns and insignificant repairs to

⁸⁴ The battle of Dodowa 7 August 1826, here Ashanti was defeated by an army of English and Danish forces, both supported by their respective nations. Dodowa is located c. 40 km northwest of the Danish Fort Fredensborg.

⁸⁵ Prampram, to the east of Christiansborg, was the only non-Danish fort along the coastline from Accra to Quitta.

⁸⁶ Fort Fredensborg was built at Ningo 1736, Augustaborg at Tessing 1787, both to the east of Christiansborg.

maintain a firm and reliable position, but the proximity of the town Thessing to the chief fort, makes the maintenance of a bastion at that place unnecessary. It is strange that a fort like Augustaborg has been built, at great expense it is said, but of no use since the foundation stone was laid.

Edw. Carstensen

|60| 28 May 1843

A schoolteacher in the girls' school at the fort dismissed because of fetish worship. Governor Maclean recalled. The miserable condition of the coastal trade. French naval visit. Death of Mechanic Pløtz.

G.J. 443/1843, filed under 708/1844, copy of a passage filed under 444/1843.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 28 May 1843

The distinguished Board will, in two separate reports, learn the results of the Aquambuh case and also the Establishment's opinion on the situation of the school system here. The last mentioned case has, because of an event which occurred within the last days, received the attention and the participation of the Establishment: the teacher in the girls' school, Frederikke Svanekjær, has been dismissed, allegedly because of having used fetishism for illegal purposes. Admittedly, this case has not been so clearly proved that the Establishment can impose any punishment on her for her acts, but there is such a high degree of suspicion towards her, that she cannot be allowed to fill a position, in which she is supposed to be an example for others. The Establishment has appointed the female Mulatto Nicoline Brock to have the supervision of the girls' school until the Board's decision regarding the school system has been forwarded. Until then not only the girls' school, but also the boys' school still have to vegetate without the hope of bearing fruit in the present circumstances.

The English establishment could now look forward to new, if not better, times: Governor Maclean has been recalled. The government

has with immediate effect taken the control of the possessions, and Governor Hill⁸⁷ is expected any day to Cape Coast Castle. After this new governor has inspected the smaller forts, the necessary requirements will be decided upon for their supervision. It is said that a regiment of West Indian troops (Negroes) will be stationed at the various permanent posts.

The plans of the Dutch government for gold mining in the country of Ahanta have been dismissed completely, and the Dutch here on the Coast have stopped looking for better days for their possessions.

[61] The trade here on the Coast (on which everything revolves) has for a long time had extremely poor prospects. Some English merchants have ruined prices by underbidding all the others, without thereby preventing their own recent destruction. But however things work out for these speculators, the flourishing times of the Coast of Guinea have totally disappeared. He who would seek for his living purely from the profits of the trade, will find here an unhappy and hopeless existence.

On 2 April the chief fort was visited by the new head of the French cruiser station here [on the Coast], Capt. Baudin⁸⁸, the brig *Nisus*, accompanied by the brig *La Vigie*, Capt. Leps⁸⁹. The French show a particular interest in the Danish Establishment, perhaps with the thought of seeing them under the tricolour flag one day. On the other hand, the English could not think of such a possibility without obvious dissatisfaction. If it was the intention of Denmark to part with these possessions, the rivalry between England and France, correctly used, could achieve that goal.

The weak remnant of Danes born in the mother country has again been reduced by the death of Mechanic Pløtz⁹⁰. Now it is the gentlemen Lutterodt, Svanekjær and Governor Carstensen who are the White

⁸⁷ Henry Worsley Hill, English naval officer, commander 1841, governor at the Gold Coast 1843-45.

⁸⁸ Auguste-Laurent-François Baudin, French naval officer (1809-77), chief of the French naval station on the African west coast 1843-47, thereafter governor in Senegal.

⁸⁹ Maurice-Edouard Leps, French naval lieutenant, appointed 1873.

⁹⁰ Ami Heinrich Pløtz, mechanic. The father who was also a mechanic, applied in 1827 for an appointment for his son in Guinea (G.J. 955/1827). The application was dismissed; but the same year the son received a loan of 5,000 *rixdaler* in silver from the government, and later he is seen as mechanic in Guinea. (G.J. 279/1832).

population in the Danish-Guinean establishments. In spite of the fact that the unhealthy season is not expected before one or two months time, the mortality has already become unusually high, compared with other years (except for last year). Illness is already frequent among all classes and colours, and everything prophesies sad events.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

|62| 26 June 1843

The death of Assistant Svanekjær. Confirmation. The collapse of the battery of fort Prinsensten. Decay of the sea-battery of Christiansborg.

G.J. 490/1843, filed under 681/1849.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 June 1843

In the short period of time that has passed since the Establishment forwarded to the distinguished Board the accounts and the reports of the Establishment, death has again haunted the Establishment: by the previous Assistant I.F.C. Svanekjær's fatal departure, Governor Carstensen and Assistant G. Lutterodt are left as the only Danes in Guinea.

By the death of Catechist Franck, the possibility of soon seeing a clerical servant in the Fort was ruled out and the ecclesiastical functions could no longer be postponed, the Establishment decided to make the necessary arrangements for the confirmation of 12 boys and 4 girls, the numbers ready for leaving school. 9 boys and 1 girl were not yet baptised. Since the Establishment could not obtain the assistance of the Basel Mission, the Establishment was requested to, as in previous periods when the absence of clerical personnel occurred, to prepare, baptize and confirm the above-mentioned young people. The confirmation took place on Sunday 18 June, and the service was performed in accordance with the prescribed *Alterbog for Danmark* (The Book of Common Prayer).

Reports from fort Prinsensten⁹¹, inform that the large battery on the

⁹¹ Fort Prinsensten at Quitta [Keta], established 1784.

seaside has collapsed as a result of heavy rain. Hence this fort, which only few years ago could still be saved, is now a mass of ruins, not at all better than the forts Kongensten and Fredensborg.

Fort Christiansborg is now in a very good condition. Considerable repairs have been made on the dwellings of the fort. The flat roofs [*platninger*] of the fort will last for many years, except for the roofs over the two large reception halls. The length of these roofs require beams of a considerable length, and the weight they [63] would have to bear, taking into account the influences of the climate, would necessitate in a few years time a new and expensive roofing.

What disfigures Fort Christiansborg and diminishes it in the view of a visitor, is the condition of the artillery. Fronting land is a handsome and useful battery of 3-pounder gun-metal cannons and towards other points of the area are some not useless 4-pounder cannons (iron), but it is the sea batteries that are in a regrettable condition. At the permanent battery now 5 12-pound cannons are located. The gun carriages are so bad that if possible one should avoid firing salutes with them. The cannons themselves are so corroded inside and at the vent, that hard firing with them is totally useless, if even the carriages would allow it. Any ship with 12-pound cannons can safely fire at, and destroy, Fort Christiansborg ⁹².

The English Governor Hill is expected at the Coast in September, in other respects the events at the moment on the Coast of Guinea are without any interest.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

15 August 1843

Fetishism, two slaves escaped to the Bosmasch fetish-house.

G.J. 496/1843, duplicate 546/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 15 August 1843

Relations between the natives and the Establishment will this time be the focal point of a special report to the distinguished Board.

⁹² Occasioned by this, the Danish king resolved, on 15 May 1844, that 3 12-pound cannons should be sent out to Fort Christiansborg (G.J. 604/1844).

The European expectations of leading the Africans to the perception of a less brutish existence than that in which the Negroes so far languished, will encounter many different obstacles for some time. The obstacle I will touch on here regarding the civilization of Africa, is fetishism. The Negroes have an idea of one god, a universal power, but the fetish is the evil spirit that pursues them and with which at all times they have to be reconciled and to which they are bound. The fetish-priests know how to take the full advantage of this, and thus cause extreme unrest. The fetish-priest [64] takes payment in order to procure for the client or his family good health, a good harvest, strong children, but also the death of an enemy. The fetish-priest can discover the perpetrator of a crime and thus pursue the innocent. Another fetish-priest might then for a good pay, reverse any allegations, utter threats of death to the enemies of his client, and might in this or many other ways cause intricate and difficult palavers.

The instructions for these establishment, in §13, do say “that the Establishment should not offend any religious custom or any other practices among the natives”, but I expect that the instructions, in that respect, no longer have any effect, because if civilization and with it the Christian faith, should be installed in the country, then it must unavoidably offend the natives’ religious customs and other practices. Time has not yet arrived, but [is] not far off, when fetish-houses, those within reach of European influence, can be demolished. So far I have not opposed the fetish-priests’ “religious” tricks, as long as they do not interfere with the authority of the Establishment. Frequently slaves run away from their masters to the fetish-priests, who would then let them work for themselves and thus acquire a substantial income at the expense of the lawful owner. I mention this as one of the acts of which the fetish-priests are prohibited by the Establishment, and which quite recently, has lead to the following palaver:

An Ussu Negro complained to the Establishment that two of his slaves had run away to the Bosmasch fetish-house, the most powerful fetish in Akuapem. Accompanied by a soldier and according to the custom of the country, with a gift to the fetish-priest, the above mentioned Negro presented himself to the fetish-priest at Bosmasch. On my behalf the soldier announced to the fetish-priest, that the case still concerned him and the Ussu Negro, but if the slaves were not released, it would be a case for the Establishment. The fetish-priest refused to release the

slaves. I then sent a soldier to the fetish-priest with the order that he bring the slaves back to the fort. But again he refused. Since I did not wish to react before I had informed the town Bosmasch about the case, I had a soldier to ask the town's Elders if they supported the fetish-priest or not. The fetish-priest and the town's Elders agreed not to release the slaves. The last message came to me on 11 July in the evening. On 12 July I went with 20 soldiers to the plantation [65] Frederiksgave. At 11:30 at night we started on the march to Bosmasch. My plan was that we should reach the Bosmasch within less than five hours walk, which meant that not only would we pass the big town Abodée⁹³ unnoticed, but we would also surprise the Bosmasch people in their sleep. But an uninterrupted and heavy rain that put out our torches and made the mountainous paths even more impassable, cost us 6 and a half hour's walk. We reached Bosmasch at 6 o'clock, when the day had already dawned. The fetish-priest had fled, but I arrested his three sons and the town's lieutenant and 2 linguists. Not long after that a continuous hooting and screaming were heard from the fetish-house. It was the 2 run-away slaves who called upon the fetish to help him against us. Leading 4 soldiers I went into the backyard of the fetish-house where the two slaves, armed with flintlocks, ran around like mad. On my command to surrender, one of them aimed at me. At the same moment I fired a pistol at him and he fell. The other ran out of the yard, and then a shot was heard. He had shot himself!

On the march back I stayed for an hour in Abodée, where I met Duke Adum, the successor Ussu-Akim and the mediator Coffy-Krah and the town's Elders, who were gathered there. The judgment of the Bosmasch palaver was, "that the Bosmasch people should pay one hundred *cabes boss*⁹⁴, and the fetish-priest should fetch his children in the fort himself".

The circumstance that a slave had aimed at me with his flintlock, which by the help of the soldiers swiftly became common knowledge, stirred a sensation among the Akuapems, which I had not expected. But this came as a good aid to me in the swift resolution of the palaver, when the gathering took the responsibility to execute a judgement.

⁹³ Abodée [Aburi], a town in the Akuapem mountains, c. 40 km north of Christiansborg.

⁹⁴ [*cabes boss*, was the unit of value in the cowrie monetary system. Cowries (Cypraea Moneta) were a variety of shell brought from the Maldiv Islands to the coast of Africa, where they were used as coins.]

On 15 July the slave who had fallen in the yard of the fetish-house in Bosmasch, was sent down to the fort from the town Abodée in good health. He explained that he had not been hit by the shot, but had been lying down as dead until our departure. In Bosmasch I sent a non-commissioned officer with two soldiers to give me a report about the dead bodies. They saw the one who had shot himself, lying there with his brain blown out, close outside the yard of the fetish-house. The other slave was lying inside the yard, and without checking further they had (presumably of superstitious fear) reported him dead.

[66] On 3 August [the sum of] one hundred cabes boss was brought down from Bosmasch, which was paid into the royal treasury. Since the Duke of Akuapem and the Elders begged for him, mentioning that the fetish-priest, due to his flight through the forest, the rain, storm and fright, had fallen ill. The fetish priest's obligation to come to the fort himself was remitted, and the hostages from Bosmasch were released.

Thus this fetish case was resolved in a manner that I hope will secure peace and good order in a distance from the fort where the armed forces can reach with punishing effect.

Edw. Carstensen

16 August 1843

Barrels of Danish spirits and rum for the Guinea Coast. Empty barrels and packages given to the warehouse keeper.

G.J. 503/1843; duplicate 552/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 16 August 1843

In a letter of 28 March this year, the distinguished Board has asked me to give my opinion on: "how many of the barrels which are brought here with spirits and rum could be expected to be empty and disposable during a year, whether they can be used in the warehouse and for the royal stock, and how to handle most easily those that are not at disposal".

The number of empty barrels, as long as Danish spirits are being sent out at a low prize and thus realize a quick sale, can be estimated up to 40 per year. Since rum in the royal warehouse is almost equally or

sometimes more highly prized than in the market here and in English Accra, the sales are therefore insignificant and as a result the number of empty barrels of rum are only approximately 5 per year.

The warehouse keeper has so far handed the empty barrels over to the coopers of the fort to manufacture lime barrels, buckets, vessels, etc, for which there is great need here. Many rum barrels which after many years of lying idle, are spoiled, and are switched by the rum being poured into empty spirit barrels. Some spirit barrels have been switched in the same way, since the spirit is sent down here in old and dilapidated [67] barrels. I would not be able to state how many barrels that are used for the benefit of the Establishment each year, since the number is adjusted according to needs.

The third point in the letter from the Board I cannot answer any better than to inform, first of all, how the left-over barrels have been made profitable by the warehouse keeper. Usually the warehouse keeper, unless he makes use of the barrels himself for the palm-oil trade, makes arrangements with a merchant here or in Accra to hand him one or more barrels in exchange for goods as payment (mostly English printed cloth). The warehouse keeper can then dispose of those goods to the Negroes either for boss or food, depending on his enterprising abilities as a trader. I must here remark that the empty barrels are in use, until by lying there they have become rotten or destroyed by termites.

If the empty barrels were to be disposed of to the benefit of the royal treasury, the Establishment could hardly take part in the abovementioned traffic, but the empty barrels could be stored until they are sold at public auctions every each or half year. To this I have [the following] objection, that if the empty barrels that have been stored, have not become ruined and thus of even less value, the competition here is so poor, that a bargain price will be offered, and if there are more collectors present, they will agree on sharing the barrels between them. Thus was the case at the auction after the late Assistant Wulff, where 11 barrels were handed over to a Danish merchant for 2 Rdl. 25 *dam*⁹⁵ g. Ct.! By auctioning the empty barrels in public the royal treasury will under the present state of the market gain very little, there will be a loss for the warehouse keeper, and the advantages would be with the merchants.

⁹⁵ [*dam* (damba) was a very small amount of gold dust weighed by using certain abrus seed. Often the cowry shell were intermingled with the gold dust currency. i.e. 1 cabs = 1 Rdl.g. Ct. = 50 dam.].

Since the total value of the barrels is apportioned by the content, and furthermore, a number of the empty barrels are used for the needs of the fort, the royal treasury has nothing to lose by giving the barrels to the warehouse keeper, in the same way as what is done with empty boxes, packing cloth, nails from the boxes, etc., certainly things that an enterprising warehouse keeper could make profit on, but the Establishment could not.

According to the above it is my humble opinion that “under the present market conditions” the empty barrels could not bring [68] such an advantage to the royal treasury that to depart from what so far has been practiced with the empty barrels could be recommended. By this the warehouse keeper is also assured an income, which, small as it is, under present conditions is welcomed by him, since trade no longer improves the conditions of the Guinean civil servants⁹⁶.

Edw. Carstensen

16 August 1843

The payment of the soldiers. For that purpose, the Establishment wishes to buy English textiles, which are cheaper than the Danish ones.

G.J. 505/1843; duplicate 554/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 16 August 1843

It is well-known to the distinguished Board that as long ago as the administration of Governor Lind⁹⁷, the appointment of the soldiers' payment down here has been fixed so that the royal treasury gets a profit of approximately 8 per cent on the salaries of the soldiers. A petition is being sent to the distinguished Board proposing that a similar profit should be gained on the salaries of the villeins, and an even larger profit on the salaries of the Negro villages and the Negro chiefs. The Establishment entertains the hope that the Board will sanction these measures in favour of the royal treasury, and with that expectation,

⁹⁶ On 29 November 1843, in Copenhagen, it was decided that one could dispose of the empty barrels, as long as they were of no use to the royal service in Guinea.

⁹⁷ Henrik Gerhard Lind, interim governor in Danish Guinea 1828-31.

CLOSING THE BOOKS

I write this petition upon whose approbation the greater savings on salaries and apportioning of custom will depend.

From the moment that “goods” are prescribed as salary to a higher, fixed, price than the value previously used in the royal warehouse, it is evident, that the cheaper the goods are purchased by the government, the greater the profits of the royal treasury. The Establishment, therefore, cannot sufficient recommend to the Board that such an arrangement should be made, that the goods for consumption at the Danish-Guinean Establishment should be sent out at the lowest possible price.

The following goods could, even at present prices in the warehouse, give a considerable profit to the government, and an even greater profit is possible if the goods are purchased more cheaply: [69]

	Warehouse price	Salary-prices to:	
		Soldiers and villeins	Negroes and villages
1 Danish flint	3 Rdl. 25 ½ <i>dam</i>	4 Rdl.- - <i>dam</i>	6 Rdl.- - <i>dam</i>
1/8 brl. gunpowder	2 -- 12 --	2 -- 16 --	3 -- 30 --
1 iron rod	1 -- 33 --	2 -- --	3 -- 30
1 pott ⁹⁸ brandy	-- -- 5 9/10	-- -- 10 --	-- -- 10 --

A fifth item in the Negro trade, free to give a considerable profit to the royal treasury, is the general “textiles”; with these printed cloths the English usually pay their soldiers and workers their salaries. Those textiles are sent from England at an incredibly low price, which I will comment on below. It will then be seen that to send “textiles” from Denmark is not to be recommended, when it is possible to receive them directly from England. This item is so expensive in the royal warehouse, that except for chellos and neconees, they cannot be given as a salary to the soldiers, if the arrangement of Governor Lind should be followed strictly, without loss for the royal treasury. They are so hard to sell that the royal servants are obliged to bargain textiles from the English in order to afford to buy the necessities for their households from the natives.

The following list shows prices on printed textiles, as they are in England, in the royal warehouse here, and how they could work as a salary price (Negro-price). Only seven different kinds are mentioned here, even though they belong to a larger assortment; but what is mentioned here is enough to show the low prices of English textiles.

⁹⁸ [A pott is a liquid measure equaling 9.68 liters]

		In England	In the warehouse	Negro-price
1 piece stout romals (approx.)		-- Rdl. 42 <i>dam</i>	not available	2 Rdl. -- <i>dam</i>
1 -- fine romals	--	1 -- 13 --	2 Rdl. 28 <i>dam</i>	3 -- 30 --
1 -- chellos	--	1 -- 34 --	4 -- 38 --	6 -- -- --
1 -- red bajudapants	--	2 -- 8 --	not available	6 -- -- --
1 -- royal check	--	3 -- -- --	not available	6 -- -- --
1 -- tom coffy	--	1 -- 31 --	2 Rdl. 28 <i>dam</i>	4 -- -- --
1 -- glascondane	--	1 -- 10 --	2 -- 25 --	4 -- -- --

The above list gives a sufficient indication of the desirability of the royal warehouse here having an assortment of cheap textiles. The present stock of “textiles” in the royal warehouse is so large, that it seems sufficient for the supply to the Establishment [70] until late in the year 1845. Thus if the Establishment is permitted to order textiles from England and with a test of an assortment sufficient for the consumption of one year, the supply of textiles for the Establishment would be secured until the end of the year 1846. By then, after what is experienced, the final decision could be made, regarding from where “textiles” should be bought, and to what quality and quantity.

While the Establishment most humbly requests that the question of low price be an important aspect regarding the shipment of new cargo, it would recommend for the approval of the Board: that the Establishment is entitled to order from England an assortment of “printed textiles applicable for the Negro trade”, sufficient for the consumption of the Establishment for a period of one year⁹⁹

Edw. Carstensen

22 August 1843

*Proposal for a new system of payment to chiefs and Negro villages.
G.J. 504/1843, duplicate 553/1844; here after the duplicate.*

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 August 1843

On the occasion of a suggestion to the Board, proposed by Governor

⁹⁹ On 6 December 1843, in Copenhagen, the proposal was approbated “as a test”.

Carstensen on 15 August this year, concerning a new payment system for chiefs and villages, a reduction of Sunday custom, an even payment to villeins and soldiers, the Establishment Council decided at the Council Assembly on 15 August this year, that while the proposal of Governor Carstensen will be put temporarily into force at the beginning of the next financial year, the same is to be recommended for the approval of the Board.

According to the mentioned approbation of the Board, the resolution of the distinguished Board will most humbly be obtained in the abovementioned case, and be found, described and explained, in the extract of the Establishment's Council and Negotiation Protocol no. 377 of 15 August this year¹⁰⁰.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

¹⁰⁰ In Protocol no. 377. 10 August 1843, it states: "Since the Europeans' relation to the Negroes on the Gold Coast during the last decade had reached such a state of stability [71] that the principle of the purchase of the Negroes' obedience must be seen as antiquated and, as such, already had been given up by other nations, the situation is that the Negroes' countless palavers are being decided in the European forts without payment, that soldiers are sent out daily to keep order, indicates sufficiently that the Negroes and the merchants are enjoying the use and advantage of the authorities, while the latter, on the other hand, bear the burdens. It seems it is high time that the Danish-Guinean Establishment cuts back on this waste of various goods and cash to the Negroes and their villages, which have been in effect for such a long time. That would be an approach to a total cancellation of wages and custom to the Negroes and their villages if these wages and custom were to be paid in goods alone, and then goods at a certain price to be determined by the Establishment according to the current price in the Negro market. Under such provision the Negroes would then have their salaries to an appointed amount, but the royal treasury would then have a profit of 100 per cent on the goods that would be given as wages and custom to the Negro chiefs and the Negro villages. It would then be apparent that under this provision concerning wages and custom, it would be imperative that goods provided for the royal warehouse to the lowest prices possible; thus a greater profit in favour of the royal treasury.

The suggestion continued, that with these payments neither cowries nor cash would be used (except in the case of cabuceers, mediators, secretaries in Ussu). Wages to the dukes, counts, successors, cabuceers, mediators, secretaries, Elders, beach bosses, fetish nobles would be paid out in goods to a value of: 1 Danish flint 6 *cabes*, 1/8 barrel of gunpowder 3 *cabes* 30 *dam*, 1 piece of lead 25 *dam*, 1 iron rod 3 *cabes* 30 *dam*, 1 knife 6 *dam*, 1 pott brandy 10 *dam*, 1 piece chello @ 27 *alen* 6 *cabes*, 1 piece nicones, likewise 27 *alen*, 6 *cabes*, 1 piece tom coffy 4 *cabes*, 1 piece romals 3 *cabes* 40 *dam*, 1 piece sestreacondy 4 *cabes*, 1 piece musefuar (?), 4 *cabes*, 1 piece antipodana 4 *cabes*. The last named goods are textiles (See Årbog for

[72] 26 August 1843

Missionary Riis makes plans for a school at Ussu.

G.J. 501/1844, filed under 62/1850; duplicate 551/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 August 1844

The distinguished Board will from the extract of the Council and Negotiation Protocol no. 396 dated 22 August this year, learn, that on that date, the Establishment decided to give permission to Missionary Riis to establish and run a school in the English language in Ussu town.

This decision by the Establishment has been brought forward by reasons, which are referred to in a letter from Governor Carstensen to Missionary Riis, inserted further below. But the Establishment has thereby been given an opportunity to make a decision by which a learning institution will be developed, whose organization hopefully will bear good fruit and fulfil a long-felt need. Governor Carstensen's letter goes like this:

To Mr. Missionary Riis in Akropong,

"A visit I had yesterday by the English missionary in Accra, brings me to inform you of the following: Mr. Watson¹⁰¹ asked me if the Establishment would allow him to

Handels- og Søfartsmuseet Kronborg 1951, 55-66).

For Sunday custom 2 *potter* rum or brandy will be paid for.

For New Year's custom on 1 January a cabuceer will be given 4 *potter* brandy and 1 *panties* (loin cloth), a mediator 3 *potter* brandy and 1 *panties*, a secretary, an elder, a chief lieutenant or a beach boss 2 *potter* brandy and 1 *panties*, a village 8 *potter* brandy, free remidors (rowers) 8 *potter* brandy, the fort's chief messengers 8 *potter* brandy, garrison 30 *potter* brandy, all the villeins (slaves) 30 *potter* brandy. The supervisors at Fredensborg, Kongensten and Prinsensten should be given 2 *cabes boss* each. At the Negroes' special New Year's celebration they should be given brandy in the same measure as above, but neither *panties* nor *boss*.

On the King's birthday there should be given to Ussu 10 *potter* brandy and 2/8 barrel gunpowder, to Labadei the same, to the fort's interpreters 4 *potter* brandy, to all the villeins 24 *potter* brandy, 1/8 barrel gunpowder and 10 *cabes boss*, to the garrison 24 *potter* brandy and 10 *cabes boss*, to the supervisors at Fredensborg, Kongensten and Prinsensten 2 *cabes boss* each. (G.J. 498/1843).

¹⁰¹ John Watson, Wesleyan missionary at the Gold Coast 1841-43.

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work with the Wesleyan Missionary Company's aim in Ussu town, namely to spread Christianity. He did not give any indications on how this undertaking should be accomplished.

You know that it is my wish that serious measures be taken towards a permanent educational and conversion institution among the Negroes in the Danish Establishment. Despite the Establishment having been forced to, in regard to the desired changes in the educational components of the school at the fort, especially concerning the introduction of English language and education, to await the resolution of the Board in that matter, the Establishment is of the opinion that it is entitled to authorize the establishment of private schools, as well in Ussu as in other places in the Danish Establishment. It is my opinion in this matter, that the Establishment should not reject any offer of spiritual influence on the natives, when it is done according to the principles of the Protestant faith, but on the other hand I acknowledge that the Basel missionaries are the first to have access to this area in their mission, and not until the Basel missionaries declare that they are not able to establish a school in Ussu town, will the Establishment as a consequence, not oppose an application from the Wesleyans.

I know, however, when I shall conclude my discussions with you, regarding the education of the Negroes, that you in this matter will do all that is in your power. [73] To you, the Establishment is willing to grant [the permission] of the establishment of English schools and the conducting of the church service in the English language in Ussu town. Whether the Establishment, in time, will be able to participate in what you hopefully will soon begin here in Ussu town, depends upon the Board's sanctioning my recommendation for English language in church and school."

The Establishment wishes that the distinguished Board gave the abovementioned decision of the Establishment, its consent and approbation¹⁰².

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

29 August 1843

The Establishment expresses a wish that the transport ship for 1844, should arrive early in October.

G.ŷ. 497/1843, duplicate 547/1844, hereafter the duplicate.

¹⁰² Comments in the Guinean Journal, 29 November 1843: "The report on Riis' school is expected".

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 August 1843

Whilst the Establishment herewith is sending to the distinguished Board a list of goods that are desired to be dispatched to the Establishment during the year 1844, it will most humbly be accompanied by the following petition: It would be desirable if the “transport ship” in the year 1844 would arrive on this Coast early in October. To arrive in December, like the years before, will burden the servants of the fort, who in the months of December and January will be occupied with the closing of the accounts of the Establishment, with such an increase in work that it would seldom be commensurate with their capabilities. Another but not unimportant consideration, is the newly arrived servants, who by arriving to the Coast in October, would get the whole “good season” to be acclimatized and would avoid sailing along the coast and disembarking here in the burning heat of December. The application of the Establishment to the distinguished Board is according to the above, that the Danish transport ship, in order to reach the Coast early in October, should depart from Denmark before the end of July¹⁰³.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

|74| 10 September 1843

Application for the dispatch of Danish newspapers.

G.ŷ. 499/1843; duplicate 549/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 September 1843

Hereby the Establishment most humbly applies the distinguished Board that the papers “Dagen” and “Fædrelandet” from 1 January 1844 should be sent to the Danish-Guinean Establishment together with “Berlinske Tidende” and “Kjøbenhavnsposten”. If the expenses thus incurred should be felt to be borne by the servants of the Establishment, they

¹⁰³ In Copenhagen the recommendation of the Establishment occasioned a great effort of purchasing goods for dispatchment.

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would certainly agree on dividing them among themselves¹⁰⁴.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

10 September 1843

The grand linguist Sebah-Akim dismissed.

G.J. 500/184; duplicate 550/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 11 September 1843

On 6 September the Establishment decided that the grand linguist Sebah-Akim will from 1 October this year, be dismissed from the King's service with 1 Rdl. Guinean Ct. in monthly pension running from the date of the dismissal.

The long lasting ill-health of the grand linguist Sebah-Akim and the consequently unfitness for service, have caused him his dismissal, though he most humbly is recommended to retain a monthly pension of 1 Rdl. Guin. Ct., which the Establishment has ascribed to him from the approaching 1 October, in anticipation of approval by the distinguished Board¹⁰⁵.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

[75] 20 October 1843

The journey of Governor Carstensen to Akuapem. Settling a palaver between the towns Akropong and Lathe.

G.J. 538/1844, filed under 125/ 1850; duplicate 588/1844

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 October 1843

It has, for a long time, been my wish to be present in the Akuapem

¹⁰⁴ In Copenhagen it was decided to dispatch the newspaper "Fædrelandet".

¹⁰⁵ In Copenhagen this suggestion was approved by 12 January 1844.

country to comply with two important issues: namely to enforce a peaceful relationship among the Akuapem people themselves and the expansion of the Basel Mission's activities in the Akuapem country.

On 26 September I travelled from the plantation Frederiksgave to Akropong without a break, where Duke Adum and the successor Ussu-Akim were present. Duke Adum has finally, after pressure from the Establishment, again chosen Akropong as his permanent residence. As usual among the Negroes the agenda was complicated palavers. Only one palaver, however, turned out to be difficult. As is known to the distinguished Board, during the administration of Governor Mørck war and anarchy prevailed in the Akuapem country, many palavers have from that time been laid aside unsettled, and among these the one, abovementioned, between the towns Akropong and Lathe.

The origin of this is that Adum, during Cabuceer Adudanqua's escape from Akuapem, offered the Lathe cabuceer a fetish against the mentioned Adudanqua and the son of his sister, Ussu-Akim. Now the exchange has made Ussu-Akim the successor of the cabuceer in Akuapem, and the Lathe cabuceer had to be released from the fetish. The Negroes could "speak palavers" for hours and mostly without any results: finally they had to appeal for judgement by the Establishment. Since this case would hardly come to a final conclusion without me being present at Akuapem, I decided to try to make an end to it. On 28 September, I went, accompanied by the men of Akropong, to the town Lathe. Here, after much discussion back and forth, it was finally decided that the Lathe people should come to Akropong the next day, to eat fetish and then make a decision in the case.

On 29th in the morning the party of Lathe town came to Akropong, both parties were armed; some young people started quarrelling by mutually insulting each other, the drunken Duke Adum wanted [76] to run away to a neighbouring town. Everything seemed, if not a real fight, to be impossible for settling the palaver. I had only two soldiers with me; they told me what I here have reported.

The Lathe party insulted the Akropong one by putting small bunches of rush the size of a hand, at the top of the gun: meaning that they were not afraid of fighting! I went over to the Lathe Negroes, asked for some of the bunches, and holding some in my hands, I declared that if they wanted to fight with me, since they had brought imaginary challenges to a place where I had called for an appointment

with them, they should come forward and tell me so, and I would act accordingly. The answer was of course sheer humility. I told Cabuceer Adum that if he was afraid, he could go home to the old *kjællinger* [wenches] – today I was cabuceer in Akuapem and was determined to settle the palaver before going back to Christiansborg. Duke Adum agreed to stay, the whole gathering sat down, and after several attempts by the Negroes to withdraw from the case, I finally succeeded in closing the case by confronting the gathering: “I shall leave the town tomorrow, and if the case is not settled immediately and without excuses, they will have to deal with the consequences. The Akuapems have had enough of fighting and quarrelling, those who will not offer their hand for a compromise will be excluded from access to trade with the coastal towns. They will then have to look for a market for their palm-oil”. The case was then settled. Adum gave the Lathe cabuceer a sheep and some brandy; an earthen pot with some lumps of earth was brought forward, Adum broke some eggs over it and said some words to each particular egg, and thus the Lathe cabuceer was released from the fetish. Thus this palaver ended, which had started inauspiciously. Friendship between the towns continued and communication between them started again.

On 30 September, I went back to the plantation Frederiksgave. In the towns Mamphee, Mampon, Amannu, Tuttu, Bosmasch, Aschravasch and Abodée¹⁰⁶, I had the opportunity of meeting the Elders and the nobles, spoke with them about the necessity of peace and order for their countries, about how their own palavers might destroy a people who for a long time had lacked unity and missed a strong leader, [77] that the Establishment would support them in their efforts to improve the state of affairs, that the Danish mission in Akropong would accordingly have stations in more and more Akuapem towns, if they saw their efforts being appreciated by the Negroes. Everywhere I found an open ear and reception to my comments, which gives me hope for better times for the Akuapem people, for good results to that people’s well being and happiness by the efforts of the Basel Mission.

On 2 October found me again at the Fort Christiansborg, filled with satisfaction at having taken a journey whose useful traces will hardly fail to appear.

Edw. Carstensen

¹⁰⁶ Towns located in the Akuapem Mountains c. 50-60 km north of Christiansborg.

4 December 1843

The sale of coffee.

G.J. 539/1844; duplicate 589/1849.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 4 December 1843

After vain efforts to sell the Establishment's stock of coffee for hard cash, it was decided by the Establishment to hand over that stock to the highest bidder for payment in goods. In accordance with this, on 20 September this year, 600 pounds of coffee were loaded on a Bremer-ship here in the roads, and for that 1 barrel with 100 dozen of Boolemmer knives to a value of 60 Rdl. guin. Ct. was taken into account for the royal treasury.

The stock of coffee of the Establishment of the year 1842, has thus been sold for 5 dam a pound, but because, from 1 January 1844, some of the knives received in barter will be offered as salary and custom to the Negroes for a higher, fixed price, the final income on the disposed coffee will become higher in favour of the royal treasury.

The price of coffee on Princess Island (whose prices determine most of those on the Coast) is 10 pounds for \$1, but the payment is given only in "goods", for example, a piece of "woven cloth" is sold for \$ 4, while for the ship owners it stands a little more than \$ 1. From this 40 pounds of coffee are loaded into the ship and sold in the European market to the merchants with a not insignificant profit. [78]

The coffee, which in future will be produced in these establishments, will have a safe market. We know of 3 shipping captains, who by given goods in return, will take the coffee they are supplied with here.

It is in this way bartering has been practised, and only in this way the cultivation of coffee will eventually be spread among the Negroes. So far no one has seen any advantage from the production of coffee at the plantation Frederiksgave; this year for a little more than 1 barrel of coffee, one gets 1 barrel of 100 dozen knives, which will give the Negroes the tangible argument that cultivation of coffee might be profitable.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

12 December 1843

Ussu town deprived of salaries and custom, because it allowed the slaves of a deceased Mulatto to escape into the mountains. Impertinence of the Accra-Negroes to the Whites. Possibility of ceasing the payments to the Negroes. G.J. 540/1844; duplicate 590/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 12 December 1843

The distinguished Board will from the Council and Negotiation Protocol extract's no. 425 be advised that the Establishment has been forced to deprive the town of Ussu of all its salaries and custom, which the mentioned town has enjoyed from the royal treasury.

Lately there have appeared among the Negroes in the three Accra-towns, some movements, some kind of urge to, on any occasion, to cause the Europeans here difficulties and annoyance. This forces the authorities to take quite serious measures to quash this sentiment among the Negroes. It is strange to experience from oral accounts, regarding this Coast, to what heights of defiance and impertinence the cowardly Negro would dare to go, when he gets a glimpse of fickleness and fear from the servants of the fort. Danish Accra-Negroes, this scum of the Coast, will now have to be fined severely for not obeying the fort. They lose [the amount] of 5 years' salaries, custom, etc. (and that means forever), which they have already, for far too long, so undeservedly collected. [79]

The actual circumstances that have brought upon the town of Ussu the Establishment's unsatisfaction, are the following: On 3 October this year a Mulatto by the name of Christian Balck, died here, at the age close to 80 and after a stay here on the Coast for more than 50 years, leaving behind according to his own statement while alive, no heirs, here or in other places. As a result of this, on the part of the fort, there were taken the necessary measures to administer the estate for the income to the royal treasury, which was entitled to this inheritance. The highly valueless objects were sold, on 11 October, at a public auction, a plantation on 14 October, but still Balck's abandoned slaves were left to be sold away (men, women and children, altogether almost 80). After concluding the death custom, a message was sent to the slaves,

telling them to meet at the fort; [but] they had left for the plantation. The messenger was sent for them with the message that they were not for sale, they would be free. As a result of this they were reported to the town of Ussu as “run-away slaves”, according to practice in such cases, and throughout the country a reward was offered for their capture. For three weeks Ussu town did nothing with the matter, but on the contrary, it appeared that they were in league with the run-away slaves, in spite of all protests; the Ussu people persisted in their disobedience.

As a consequence of the Ussu people’s attitude in this matter, it was announced to them that the fort no longer wanted to receive the run-away slaves, even if they appeared voluntarily, but that Ussu town had to pay for their value by being fined 5 years of salaries and custom.

This way of deciding the matter will bring a palpable punishment to Ussu town. It might open the way for a total abolition of salaries and custom to this town, and finally, it would be even more favourable to the royal treasury. The proceeds from a public auction of the run-away slaves would not with the present market situation bring in a sum as high as the savings of salaries and custom for 5 years.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

15 December 1843

*The palm-oil trade; proposal for Danish participation in the trade.
G.J. 541/1844; duplicate 591/1844. |80|*

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 15 December 1843

To the distinguished Board, I take the humble liberty of sending the comments below, which, hopefully, will not be without use for the possible chartering of ships to this Establishment at royal expense.

So far Danish ships that have been chartered to this Coast have chosen to take in the ballast here and to make their return or other freights in Brazil or other places. I am convinced that this way of doing things is caused by being unfamiliar to the conditions here. Since I will concentrate my remarks to the shipment here at royal expense, that

ship will on arrival easily load a cargo of palm-oil. This load might easily be disposed of in the Baltic trading places (for ex. Stettin). As far as I know, a number of soap factories in Prussia receive palm-oil via Hamburg, which again not only receives the supply by trading directly with the Coast, but for a great part, by import from the English market. Cargoes of palm-oil, brought directly from where it is produced, to where it is consumed, or from wherever it could easily be sold and transported to (for ex. from Stettin by railway to Berlin, etc.), could surely be well disposed of and with luck competitive to the Hamburg import of palm-oil to the Prussia. Without doubt other points and places would in addition open up for the palm-oil trade, when this is part of the trade of the Baltic shipping. Before leaving the Coast, the "Danish ship" should obtain orders from those merchants, who had loaded the palm-oil, as well as from other merchants, on Baltic products (like iron, copper, lead, timber, tar, potato-spirits, provisions and more). Then it would have to return to the Coast and here [in this way] immediately pay the cargo brought home and buy a new cargo.

No ship owner could better make an attempt with the palm-oil trade than that, by which the distinguished Board would transfer the shipment to the Danish-Guinean Establishment. That means no risk in equipping the ship and the dispatch of goods. All that a shipowner in that case would have to observe, would be that if the captain of the ship was not competent in trade, [one would have] to dispatch a [81] capable merchant (supercargo) with exact knowledge of trading prices in the Baltic harbours. He could bargain about the prices on oil and for the goods that should be given in payment; he could also make himself acquainted with the trading conditions here and possibly, in that way, find other forms of enterprise for Danish trade and shipping on the Guinea Coast.

The price on palm-oil at the moment is 1 Rdl. g. Ct. 30 *dam* for more than 5 gallons, payment half and half in cash (i.e. *boss*) and goods. The Americans and the French would hardly take the same on board; in France the credit on palm-oil has fallen considerably, since a cheaper and in many aspects a more useful oily substance is lately being shipped from the Levant in large quantities. The usefulness of palm-oil in the Nordic countries, not only in the soap manufacturing, but also in candle-making, should be drawn to the attention of the Danish commercial community.

On 9th and 10th this month the Danish ship *Atalanta*, Capt. Diederichsen, was in the roads, dispatched from Hamburg. According to statements from this captain, it seems that the Hamburgers' palm-oil trade is quite lively. The ship (the brig) *Atalanta* was provided with water from the Fort and continued her journey to Whydah and Benin.

I hope my abovementioned remarks will not alone contribute to supply the Board with cheaper rates of freight down here to the Establishment, but, and in particular, to encourage industrious Danish traders, under favourable circumstances, to make a try with the palm-oil trade¹⁰⁷.

Edw. Carstensen

16 December 1843

Arms and equipment for the fort and the garrison.

G.ŷ. 543/1844, filed under 681/1849; duplicate 593/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 16 December 1843

Most humbly I take the liberty to present to the distinguished Board the status of arms at Fort Christiansborg. The garrison [82] in the fort (as well as the whole military force of the Establishment) consists of 50 soldiers, 6 non-commissioned officers (actually only 4, but the regiment's drummer and the assistant interpreter, do service as non-commissioned officers). Soldiers have so far been in service as drummers and pipers; but to avoid this, from 1 January 1844, I have taken into service 4 boys with a monthly salary of 25 *dam*, as drummers and pipers.

The garrison is now well trained in gun exercises and evolutions; in that respect the lack of a capable sergeant is felt, who, before I was inspecting the garrison in the weekly parade, could keep the soldiers trained. I have had some difficulties in the exercise of the garrison, since the non-commissioned officers have only little knowledge of weapon practice.

¹⁰⁷ On 10 April 1844, to this suggestion, it was resolved that the necessary information should be reported to "Handelstidende" [Trade News]. The information can be found in no. 46, 16 April 1844.

With regard to the uniforms, there is nothing particular to add. The uniforms are sewn right here and are always clean and in good shape. Regarding the headgear, it will be necessary to send 400 field hats (dark blue with a red border and in the newly-prescribed style) and 200 chacots in newly-prescribed shape. For the non-commissioned officers we need: 8 swords with brass chains, 8 sword belts and 8 wallets, both with brass fittings. I dare to request the Board to consider if it would not be appropriate to appoint a military authority to chose, and for the Board to transfer, items regarding uniforms and armaments, to be found suitable and distinguished enough to be sent out to a garrison, that at such a distance from the mother country will represent the Danish army. I must mention that the English forts on the Coast will receive garrisons of English-West Indian regiments, equipped with the luxury and reliability, which distinguishes the English army.

I must most humbly make an application to have sent out 100 infantry guns with percussion locks and 100 pistols with similar locks. These will not be in daily service at the garrison, where the present flintlocks will be suitable for a long time, but for expeditions in the mountains. With such a small military force as at present, is it absolutely essential to be equipped with reliable weapons. On the expedition to Bosmasch, where it was raining all night, only my weapons fired immediately. The guns of the 20 soldiers were useless for shooting. When it is not raining in the mountains, heavy dew falls, that, with a morning or night march, the effect on the firing weapons [83] from the humidity would be the same. That is why the Negroes have their locks and trigger guards protected by a leather case or cylinder to prevent the water from penetrating inside, but also partly as suitable for the use of the gun. Accompanied by 20-30 soldiers with percussion guns and pistols in their belts, I would be sure of accomplishing all that I, without such weapons, would have had to weigh carefully to get involved in.

The artillery of Fort Christiansborg has an able seaman, but no gunners. It would be highly desirable to have 20 permanent gunners in the fort. Of the artillery of the fort, the only effective ones are: 9 4-pounder gun-metal cannons and 6 1-pound amusettes, including 2 howitzers; some 4- and 6-pounder iron cannons on tolerable carriages

are found on the batteries, but the vents are so widened by use and corrosion, that it is not without danger to shoot the salutes with them. In a few years time only the small gun-metal cannons will be useful for salutes. Even now, salutes to foreign warships are seen but not heard. If His Majesty the King would most graciously decide that Fort Christiansborg should be put into a satisfactory order, 8 cannons (preferably of gun-metal¹⁰⁸) of a larger calibre and 12 of a smaller calibre with suitable carriages could satisfy that aim. I realize that this report involves one object (the artillery of the fort), which will require such great expenses, that the matter should, perhaps, have been passed over in silence, but silence in this matter would, from my point, be seen at as indifference for the state of the fort, an indifference which I far from feel (as well as I, all too often, feel shame and embarrassment when showing French and English around on the battery of the fort) that I cannot strongly enough recommend this case to the distinguished Board's participation and attention¹⁰⁹.

Edw. Carstensen

¹⁰⁸ [The casting of a gun-metal cannon consists of an alloy of bronze and 10-15 % pewter (ref. Statens Forsvarshistorisk Museum, Copenhagen)]

¹⁰⁹ After this report it was dispatched from Copenhagen 3 12-pounder gun-metal cannons, 50 rifle muskets and 8 swords, etc. (G.J. 578, 578 and 604/1844).

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20 January 1844

Requisition for equipment for the church at the fort.

G.7. 570/ 1844, duplicate 600/1844, here after the duplicate. [84]

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 January 1844

According to the request of the catechist, the following requisition is recommended for the approbation of the distinguished Board:

1 chasuble
1 ditto shirt
1 altar clothe
1 altar piece (decorated on wood)
1 organ
1 tin box with 400 church wafers
1 church ritual

It would be desirable if these objects, which are all lacking in the church at the fort, could be sent with the outward bound Danish transport ship to the Coast¹¹⁰.

Edw. Carstensen

*Erichsen*¹¹¹

George Lutterodt

10 February 1844

Wife of the catechist employed as teacher of the girls' school at the fort.

G.7.574/ 1844 filed under 708/1844; duplicate 632/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1844

By the decision of the Establishment of 24 January this year, (see the transcript of the Negotiation Protocol no.10 and 11) it was determined

¹¹⁰ To this requisition, it was resolved: The necessary should be provided for.

¹¹¹ Thomas Edvard Julius Eriksen, assistant at Fort Christiansborg, arrived in Guinea on 23 December 1843 and died there in 1844.

that, from 1 January this year, the wife of Catechist Jørgensen¹¹², Henriette Jørgensen, should teach in the girls' school of the Establishment, with an allowance of 16 Rdl. g. Ct. per month, and that the school teacher, Nicoline Brock, for the time being should function as interpreter and assistant at that school, with the salary she previously received of 4 Rdl. g. Ct. per month, which is most humbly requested for approval by the distinguished Board¹¹³.

Edw. Carstensen

Erichsen

George Lutterodt

|85| 14 March 1844

The death of Assistant E.W. Schæffer.

G.ŷ. 623/1844; duplicate 693/1844.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 14 March 1844

On Monday 11 March at 7:00 in the morning, the constituted first assistant at these Establishment, E.W. Schæffer¹¹⁴, passed away. The climate conditions cannot account for the death of Mr. Schæffer, he suffered from a chronic illness, which, after his departure from the father country, increased more and more and sent him to his grave.

Edw. Carstensen

Erichsen

George Lutterodt

14 March 1844

A ship, shipwrecked at Prampram, is being robbed by the Negroes. The governor's quick arrival with his military force puts an end to the robbery.

G.ŷ. 672/1844; duplicate 715/1844.

¹¹² C.Th. Jørgensen, cand. theol, catechist at Christiansborg, arrived there with his wife Henriette Jørgensen on 23 December 1843, died on 13 September 1844.

¹¹³ According to the Negotiation Protocol, Henriette Jørgensen's salary was estimated to 16 Rdl. g. Ct. per month (G.J. 573/1844)

¹¹⁴ Ernst Vilhelm Schæffer, cand. jur. (1803-44), assistant to the Establishment at Christiansborg 1843, travelled to Guinea on English ship.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 14 March 1844

On 18 February this year at 6 o'clock in the evening, I receive, at the plantation Frederiksgave, an official note, dated the same day, from the English commander at Fort St. James, with the following content:

"I have at this moment received a message that the inhabitants of the towns Ningo and Ponny have gathered at Prampram¹¹⁵, and in connection with the people of the last mentioned town, have started plundering the cargo of the brig *Norval*, which has run aground. They have already actually used violence and threatened the lives [of those who] are trying to protect the shipwrecked cargo. My request to you, therefore, is to send a man with substantial authority who can force the Ningo- and Ponny-Negroes to leave Prampram and return the plundered goods – and I feel convinced that in this matter you will render all the assistance you have in your power."

I. Topp

[86] I immediately decided to go to Prampram myself and bring as large an armed force as possible. Around midnight I arrived at fort Christiansborg; the whole garrison was gathered and the total of 32 men were given the order to be ready to march at 6 o'clock in the morning, at which time the necessary canoes were expected to be ready for sailing. The guarding of the fort was handed over to the militia, a corps of free Mulattos, which I organized in December last year, and armed with the older rifles and cartridge cases of the garrison. With such an arrangement, the whole garrison could be called out when needed (often when called for palaver matters [they are] too few), without having to hand over and leave behind watchguards.

On 19th at 7:00 in the morning, the canoes were finally ready, and the expedition left the landing at Christiansborg in four big canoes, a smaller canoe brought 20 Congreve rockets with accessories.

Around 2:00 we reached Prampram, but from the sea, I could already see that the Negroes who were gathering there, coming from everywhere, had dispersed themselves. At the town Upper Prampram (approx. 3000 *alen*¹¹⁶ from the sea), I was received by two English merchants, who told me that the Ningo- and Ponny-Negroes had been at the wreck, but that

¹¹⁵ Ningo was the native village of the Danish Fort Fredensborg. Ponny and Temma [Tema] located between Christiansborg and Fredensborg. Little Prampram was close to the beach, while Upper Prampram a bit further up the country.

¹¹⁶ *Alen* is a linear measure of 62.81 cm. 1 Danish mile = 12,000 *alen* = 7.5 km

they had withdrawn when hearing that a messenger had been sent to report their behaviour, and that the Danish Negroes (i.e. Ningo- and Ponny-Negroes) had only enriched themselves with perhaps 7 flintlocks and some *pibestaver*¹¹⁷. In contrast, the Prampram-Negroes should not be praised, since they continued to loot whatever they secretly could cope with.

The Englishmen assembled there thanked me for the speed with which I had come to help them with, for this country, such a substantial and well-organized force.

On the 20th I went to Ningo town. The evening before I had to send a soldier to tell the inhabitants that I, in all friendliness, wanted to visit them and speak with them about some ongoing palavers, and that they should stay in town peacefully and not flee to the hills. (I had been told that the Ningo people, frightened and confused, were preparing to leave the town.) |87|

On 21st I went overland with the expedition corps to Fort Christiansborg. Here the militia with discipline and self-confidence had maintained the military service at the fort. At present the militia consists of 50 men. On 1 January this year, they received their standards, which are kept by the governor who is the head of the militia, and he gives his orders to a militia aide-de-camp. At present Mr. W. Lutterodt is the militia aide-de-camp.

The brig *Norval*, out of London, freighter for the house of Hutton & Sons, Captain Arnold, on 14 February in the evening at 7:00, ran aground on the beach at the town Prampram. The ship was thrown so high up on the shore that the breakers could not reach her. Thus they succeeded in saving most of the cargo, and the ship itself is sold for scrap.

The stranding of the ship *Norval*, provides evidence of the European moral influence on the Negroes on this part of the Guinea Coast. In many places in the civilized Europe, it would have been difficult to rescue the cargo from a ship that had ran aground on an unguarded coast line – here we succeeded, in spite of the fact that the Negroes consider everything that is thrown up on the beach as a gift to them from the sea.

Edw. Carstensen

¹¹⁷ *Pibestaver*, cut and rounded wooden oak sticks, made for wine pipes and big barrels, (*Molbechs danske ordbog*, Copenhagen, 1833) .

30 June 1844

Governor Carstensen is departing on leave, passes Quitta, Gabon and St. Louis in Senegal, and especially praises the educational system in the last mentioned places.

G.J. 626/1844.

Brest, 30 June 1844

The course that happened to determine my journey to my fatherland enables me to communicate to the distinguished Board some perhaps not uninteresting pieces of information concerning West Africa.

On 15 March, on a French commercial ship, I left Fort Christiansborg, and after having called at Quitta, Whydah and Gabon, our course was set for France and to Marseille. After passing the mouth of the Volta River, we approached Fort Prinsensten. Supervisor Henr. Meyer, confirmed what he had written to me not long ago, and what rumours had already informed me, that the Spaniard Mora [88] had been to Vay, where a North American vessel, loaded with goods, had brought him from Havana. H. Meyer added, that the soldier I had sent to the town Vay, had already found him departed, urged by the Elders of the town, to a town beyond Quitta, but that a young Spaniard was left behind as a factor.

By sailing along the coast, I noticed, at two places (Atokko and Vay), Portuguese flags - these flags were said to have been given to the Negroes! I ordered H. Meyer to pay careful attention to what was undertaken at Quitta in my absence.

On 31 March weighed anchor at the beautiful River Gabon (on the equator). The approach is broad and navigable to large frigates. One can anchor close to the banks, safely and calmly, for many miles up the river. Still, one is not familiar with the course of this river, but the mouth seems to be very wide. The French here have built a fort (blockhouse) on the right (northern) riverbank. Treaties have been signed with the chiefs on both sides of the river, and the country is now French. The inhabitants of Gabon seem in many aspects to be an exception from the Negro tribes of the Upper Guinea. They seem very receptive to civilization and its demands. The French language is spoken frequently.

I found well-fitted houses among several of the Negroes. I dined at a well-dressed table. The host ate with us and behaved quite decently.

Fort Aumale is built on a ridge at the riverbank close to the village of the Negro Louis¹¹⁸. It consists at present of a blockhouse surrounded by stockades and four bastions with just as many 30-pounder cannons. The Prince of Joinville has allocated a substantial amount of money for the construction of a stone fort.

On the left riverbank, I visited King Denis in his village. This chief, Knight of the Foreign Legion, does honour to his position with his breeding and intelligence. A company in Nantes, has made a contract with this man, by which they have leased the entire territory of the king. Denis delivers workers, the company material and management. The products are shipped to France, and the profit is divided into fixed shares. It will not take many years before Gabon [89], with its beautiful location and with the influence of the Prince of Joinville, will be transformed into an important possession for France.

I will here mention the other newly-established French possessions. At the rivers Grand Bassam and Assiné (west of Cap Apollonia), the forts (blockhouses) Nemours and Joinville are established. It is the intention of France to guard these rivers with small iron steamships and, thereby, at the same time organize important geographical surveys and close trade contracts with the people of the hinterland. A trading house in Marseille sends agents to these factories.

The French have not neglected the cause of civilization in Africa. On the contrary, they might perhaps surpass other nations in the task of introducing culture to Africa. An easily recognizable policy is the basis for this effort, that is, the Negro emancipation in the West Indies will destroy the production of the Antilles. In Africa, by Negroes working as slaves for Negroes, one might produce what the West Indian islands no longer can offer.

With the French Princess Adelaide's¹¹⁹ interest for the cause, the

¹¹⁸ Count of Bouet-Willaumez made a treaty with Louis, one of the chiefs on the right bank of Gabon. The one who in the following is mentioned as Denis, was the senior chief on the left bank of Gabon (Fernand Rouget: *L'expansion coloniale au Congo français*, Paris 1906, 13-14)

¹¹⁹ Adelaide, Princess of Orléans (1777-1847), sister of Louis Philippe, King of France, gained considerable political influence after the June Revolution 1830.

clergyman Ed. Barrot¹²⁰ has been appointed as *eveque des deux Guinées* (Bishop to the two Guineans). 10 missionaries will, together with him, establish churches and schools in the French-Guinean possessions. A church made of timber is on its way to Gabon. During my stay in Gabon, I watched with great interest one man's enterprise, to whom France owes the reorganization of the Senegalese possessions, the creation of the French-Guinean Establishment. He is Edouard Bouët¹²¹, *capitains de corvette, gouverneur du Sénégal et dépendances*. Because of this man's respect for the word Danish and his personal kindness, I was able to leave an uncomfortable commercial ship and to continue my journey on the French warship *Nisus*, bound for Brest, after calling at the island of Gorée and the town St. Louis in Senegal.

The town St. Louis is a place in the desert. A lucrative trade in rubber has, on a sandy riverbank in the River Senegal, created a nice [90] town, populated by 10,000 people. The school system in St. Louis is organized in the following manner: an *école primaire* of three classes, where approx. 200 children are being taught by teachers from *les frères de l'école chrétienne*¹²². Above this is a college, where 50 pupils from *l'école primaire* are being educated under the supervision of two clergymen. I attended an examination, and according to this, the education appears to be conducted with seriousness and insight. After the examination six pupils are selected to be sent to France, i.e 3 for the clerical seminar and 3 for the *l'école d'arts et métiers*. Of the 6 boys, were 2 Negroes, the others were Mulattos. An educational institution, which is administered with an admirable discipline, is St. Louis Institute for girls. This is administered by three *soeurs de St.-Joseph de Cluny*¹²³! Tiny, female Negroes and female Mulattos answered, with skill and cheerfulness, not easy tasks in arithmetic, history and geography, etc. The church

¹²⁰ Edward Barron de Ballyneal (1801-54), established the Catholic Mission in Guinea, born in Ireland, came to America, and was sent out from Philadelphia in 1841 as missionary and became in 1842 Apostolic vicar, but returned to America in 1844 because of illness.

¹²¹ Louis-Edouard, count of Bouët-Willamez, French naval officer (1808-71), commander of *Nisus* and interim governor in the French colony Senegal 1842-44.

¹²² These brothers constituted the largest male Catholic lay-organization founded by Johannes la Salle at Reims in 1681.

¹²³ This institution was founded in 1805 by Anna Maria Javouhey, who, in 1822, led some of the sisters to Senegal and thus started the operations in Africa.

service has high attendance. In particular they are devotedly attracted to a young Mulatto's Christian speech.

The educational system in St. Louis stands so far above the other educational institutions in West Africa, that a comparison would hardly be recommended.

On board the brig *Nisus* are 8 Negro boys from Assiné, Grand Bassam and Gabon. They work on board. In France they will learn a craft and other things before being sent home.

Governor Bouët is on a journey to Paris, where he will talk with the Ministry about continued and increased efforts in Africa on the part of France.

Edw. Carstensen

30 June 1844

The Governor has arrived at Brest and sends home "Remarks" on the Danish possessions in Guinea. He accounts for their history, maintaining that they have been kept especially for the sake of trade, but more recently also, to some extent, to help the spread of civilization. After the abolition of the slave trade in 1820, the government in Copenhagen issued new regulations, but the high mortality rate among civil servants sent out prevented the success of these efforts. One ought [91] now to work together with the Basel Mission; the Danish territory should be reduced to the land west of Volta River, and the land east of the river should be given to some other power.

G.J. 627/1844, filed under 43/1850; the actual "Remarks" carries the journal number 627/1844, but is filed in the journal under no. 628.

Brest, 30 June 1844

I take the liberty of reporting to the distinguished Board that during my journey to my fatherland, according to the decision on 14 March this year of the Guinean Council, I am now in Brest, where the French governor in Senegal, Mr. Edouard Bouët, has brought me on board the naval brig *Nisus*.

I most humbly reserve the right to report verbally to the distinguished Board the events in Guinea since 1 January this year. I am forwarding,

in writing, some remarks concerning the Guinea Coast, which I venture to recommend to the attention of the distinguished Board.

Edw. Carstensen

Remarks

concerning the Danish-Guinean possessions

When Denmark gained possession of Fort Christiansborg and fortifications on the Gold Coast east and west of that fort, the goals of the Danish government were determined by the needs of the time, that is, to provide for the Danish subjects protection and trading places for a trade that was legal and very profitable, i.e. the slave trade.

When choosing places for the establishment of trading stations and forts, little regard was given to what means of transportation the country could offer to the trade. A prominent cliff at the sea was chosen, far from rivers and passable land. One knew that simply existence of a trading post was enough, regardless of its location, to attract a trade, where the object [of that trade] was mobile, and could come to the market on its own. This is the reason for the unfortunate position of the Guinean forts to a trade, which is *now* legal, for culture and communication with the interior. These trading posts were fortified with a number of cannons. They were in a permanent state of siege, completely isolated from the Negro tribes living only [92] a few miles away from the fort. Everything served the trading interests, the trade policy was absolute. The governor and the other civil servants were privileged slave traders.

This was the case on the Guinea Coast, until the abolition of the slave trade on the part of Denmark; but still this trade continued, secretly, by Danish subjects, apparently by using the ships of other nations. The political state in Europe served as cover for many crimes on the West Coast of Africa, but the state of war ceased, a long-desired peace enabled Denmark to concentrate her thoughts and efforts on healing the wounds she had received at home and in the colonies. The far away Guinean possessions, for too long regarded with indifference, finally attracted a little attention: a regulation¹²⁴ for the management of the possessions was given. The possessions, with the exception of Fort Christiansborg, were abandoned. To control the administration and to

¹²⁴ Instruction of 29 September 1829.

cut the expenses seemed to be the main feature of that regulation, which took a lot away, but nothing was replaced. It left Fort Christiansborg as a fortress without cannons, a trading post without trade; it allowed no interference into the situation of the natives.

Still, just as Denmark gave the password for the abolition of the slave trade, she also took the initiative as to the introduction of civilization and culture in Africa. The attention of the mother country was on education, on colonial constructions, on industrial enterprises, on commercial establishments in her Guinean possessions. But the noble intentions of the government came to nothing, partly because of untimeliness, partly by choosing expensive means. The men chosen to carry out the plans of the government were as a rule full of love and eagerness for the task given them, but this actual eagerness seems more than anything else to have prevented the accomplishment of the intentions of the government. Usually an official in Guinea will see ahead of him a brief existence. If a special task is entrusted to him, or if he has decided on something for the good of the country, the fear of seeing death annihilate everything at its beginning, the thought that a successor, with little control from the motherland will follow new and opposite ideas, will force him to grow an artificial plant, the stunted plant will lack the precious nurturing it had before, and everything will collapse. The people, [93] but not the country, are in strong opposition to the enterprise of creative officials. While this is brought around with surprising speed, the children of the country work slowly and unwillingly. This slowness, this unwillingness, has to be conquered, it will not happen quickly, but it can be done.

It would be most difficult, indeed impossible, under the present conditions, to sell the Danish-Guinean possessions. England has enough; even too much in her badly located forts. France is taking possessions of river districts; she does not want an expensive fort without means of communication with the interior.

To "abandon" the Danish-Guinean possessions is a suggestion, which betrays lack of knowledge of the conditions there. Denmark cannot leave Fort Christiansborg, the Guinean territory and its inhabitants without providing for a successor. Denmark cannot part with the Guinean possessions, unless this can be done in a manner that would be honourable for the state. While England spends hundreds of

thousands in the name of the Guinean trade and African civilization, while France in her possessions in Senegal is untiringly pursuing the cause of civilization and is preparing herself to pursue the same on the Guinea Coast, while the Dutch have at last decided to send missionaries to Elmina, should Denmark disheartened step back and annihilate the precious work of civilization so honourably started by the Basel Mission?

It is in the interest of the government to direct its officials in Guinea, constantly and consistently, to keep an eye on the cause of African civilization, to diligently observe and report trading conditions on the Guinea Coast. The Danish officials should establish close contact with the Basel Mission, support its enterprises, and protect its members. A plan for a united and forceful joint effort must be made – and followed. The work of civilization is to be based particularly on cultural establishments, young people (Mulattos and Negroes) should be sent to the West Indies to learn how to grow sugar cane, tobacco and other tropical plants. A Danish warship should visit the Coast each year, to be able to report to the relevant authorities its observations, and to connect Danish Guinea with the Danish West Indies.

The Basel Mission has started a costly institution for civilization and culture in the Akuapem mountains. The uncertainty [94] about the existence over time of the Danish-Guinean possessions paralyzes its work. The Danish local authority which in regard to the administration of the country and its inhabitants, has to act without instructions, without knowing any plans of the government for the country, thus cannot expend the energy required to give the mission help and assistance, without which nothing can be achieved.

The Danish-Guinean possessions should be given an organization, under which the greatest possible economy can be joined to the purposes of the possessions: the introduction and expansion of civilization and culture in Africa, trade with the mother country.

The work of civilization will not have much influence on the economy of the possessions: Denmark contributes her mite to keeping the Establishment, by maintaining peace and order in the country, by having her civil servants act seriously and honestly in union with the mission. When Denmark has declared that she will stay in Africa for the sake of the Africans, then private charities will help a Christian mission still more in its honourable undertaking.

The following modifications will contribute to the economical management of the Danish-Guinean Establishment: the salary system should be changed and the civil servants should be deprived their right to trade, a right which has often led servants to act as petty traders which had damaging influence on the administration. The salary of the servants should be fixed and distributed in money alone. The sending of a Danish transport ship to the Coast would be rendered superfluous by the change in distribution of salaries and custom [to the local chiefs]. The Coast should be visited once a year by one of the naval brigs (warships) bound for the West Indies. It should inspect the Establishment and supply the same with the necessary ammunition, etc. The European personnel can be restricted to a governor, a secretary and a doctor. The annual Danish warship could replace possible vacancies in the civil personnel.

One might ask if the Danish-Guinean local authority will be able to keep peace and order with 50 soldiers and little money, in a country with a coastline of 30 [Danish] miles, and the interior of which is unlimited? The answer would be negative and would implicitly advise that the esteem of the management will be weakened in one respect if it is not maintained in another.

If Denmark wants to combine the hope of progress on the Coast with economy, the possessions must be given definite limits. The far flung stretches of land, which cost the state money [95] and are difficult to manage, must be abandoned. The Danish-Guinean Establishment should be contained between English Accra and the Volta River. On this 15 [Danish] miles of coast, and the same distance inland, Denmark could economically work towards a goal. By abandoning the ruins of the fort at Quitta and abolishing custom for the chief of Augna and the King of Aquambo, the desired result will not be achieved, because the tribes of the left bank of the Volta River would, if they were left to themselves, give us unending palavers. The ruins of the fort at Quitta and the supremacy of Denmark over the country east of the Volta River must, on certain conditions, be surrendered to another nation, and preferably to a nation whose influence on the Guinea Coast is not predominant.

Edw. Carstensen

15 July 1844

The insecure position of the interim administrative officer in Guinea.
G.J. 634/1844, filed under 195/1846.

Copenhagen, 15 July 1844

The civil servant in Guinea should, as much as possible, be able to look upon his position there, if not with great satisfaction, at least not with dissatisfaction. This sentence, applied to the present conditions in Guinea, brings me most humbly to convey to the distinguished Board the position of the interim servants there: the interim civil servant enjoys full salary of the office he is constituted to serve. This salary will enable him to satisfy the material necessities of life, but the thought of the insecurity of his position, is always present. The possibility, sooner or later, of seeing someone else replace him, is always before his eyes. He does not have the peace of mind, which is so important for the Europeans under the Guinean sky. He has done everything possible, by spotless conduct, to consciously fulfil his official duties, to win other people's respect and the respect for himself, but his future is not secure, he is not a real civil servant. [96]

The above can be used [as the situation] of the present interim 1st assistant in Guinea, Ed. Ericksen. I therefore take the liberty to recommend the interim servant to fill one of the real assistant positions at the Establishment in Guinea¹²⁵.

Edw. Carstensen

¹²⁵ To this report the General Customs Office and Board of Trade, on 26 July 1844, resolved to make a proposition to the King, and, thereupon, on 1 August, King Christians VIII resolved that Interim Governor E.J.A. Carstensen should be appointed as governor, Surnummerair Assistant T.E. Eriksen as second assistant, and the one on allowance [*vartpenge*] appointed assistant, G. Lutterodt, as chief war commissioner, the last one with the expressed right to carry the uniform appropriate to his rank (G.J. 652/1844).

15 July 1844

Application for a gun carriage.

G.J. 635/1844 filed under 681/1849.

Copenhagen, 15 July 1844

I most humbly propose to the distinguished Board the necessity of providing a gun carriage at Fort Christiansborg, where the use and moving of old and new guns are extremely difficult without it.

According to the quotation of an official at the royal arsenal, the price of a new carriage will be approx. 120 Rbdlr.

If shortage of time does not allow for ordering a new carriage, it would be desirable if a used one was bought and sent to the Coast in addition to the cannons already ordered¹²⁶.

Edw. Carstensen

18 July 1844

Glass-panes proposed for the windows of Christiansborg.

G.J. 636/1844

Copenhagen, 18 July 1844

The official residence at Fort Christiansborg, has, for a long time, been lacking what now are quite commonly used, imported, protection against the influences of the climate among the Europeans at the Guinea Coast, that is, glass-panes and ovens.
[97]

If the distinguished Board should determine that that lack should be remedied, that the official residence at Christiansborg should be provided with glass-panes, then 500 pieces of panes, 12 inches high and 9 inches wide, would do. Putty and nails should in that case accompany them.

It would be desirable if the Council hall at Christiansborg, the

¹²⁶ The Board decided: "The necessary should be provided for".

gathering place of the officials at the fort, were to be provided with an open fireplace of a suitable size¹²⁷.

Edw. Carstensen

24 July 1844

A proposal that the furnishing of the governor's residence be paid for by the government.

G.J. 647/1844, filed under 653/1844.

Copenhagen, 24 July 1844

The distinguished Board has in previous reports to the Establishment in Guinea, been of the opinion that the furnishing of the governor's residence at the Chief Fort Christiansborg, should not be a burden on the royal treasury. In that respect I will most humbly allow myself the following remarks. About 15 years ago, a wretched, used piece of furniture was sent to the Coast, where, since that time it has fallen apart, piece by piece. A cupboard, a dining table with 12 chairs, are the complete furniture of the governor's residence!

In Guinea it is impossible for a newly-arrived official, to immediately acquire furniture necessary for the reception needs, and it would at least take a year before the furniture ordered would arrive from England or America – and one year in Guinea is a long time.

These special conditions in Guinea make a very good case for the government to pay for the furnishing of the governor's residence at Fort Christiansborg.

Decent furniture can be purchased for approx. 450 Rdlr. It can be estimated to last for at least 15 years. If a Danish ship bound for the Guinea Coast, should have space before departure to bring furniture, it should certainly do so. [98]

If the principle should be observed that the royal treasury should not pay for the furnishing of the official residences in the colonies, and an exception regarding Guinea is impossible, I will most humbly

¹²⁷ To this request the Board, on 26 August 1844, replied that “the necessary should be provided for”.

propose that furniture should be purchased by money paid in advance by the royal treasury, which thereafter would obtain full payment, called furniture money, by dividing it over a certain number of years (the expected time the furniture would last), and include it as part of the salary of the governor¹²⁸.

Edw. Carstensen

24 July 1844

*Application for free return journey to Guinea.
G.J. 648/1844, filed under 653/1844.*

Copenhagen, 24 July 1844

I most humbly request of the distinguished Board that I be relieved of bearing the expenses myself of my return journey to the Guinea Coast with the brig *Immanuel*.

The expenses for my journey to Denmark, undertaken in the interests of the Danish-Guinean possessions, the necessity I find myself in, of supplying myself with indispensable expensive household goods, has deprived me of means to cover the expenses of my return journey to the Chief Fort Christiansborg personally¹²⁹.

Edw. Carstensen

25 July 1844

If Denmark is to keep her possessions in Guinea, the work on culture and education should be left to the missionaries, and a plan should be made for the economy of the possessions; the official trade should cease, and a warship should be sent out to the Guinea Coast once a year.

G.J. 646/1844 filed under 43/1850.[99]

¹²⁸ By a royal resolution of 30 July 1844, 450 rd. was granted against that the governor had the furniture repaired so that they could be handed over in a suitable condition from one governor to the next one. (G.J. 653/1844)

¹²⁹ By a royal resolution of 30 July 1844, Governor Carstensen was entitled to keep his salary during his journey, and the budget sum of 300 Rdl. was granted to cover his travel expenses. (G.J. 654/1844).

Copenhagen, 25 July 1844

When I most humbly sent to the distinguished Board my “Remarks concerning the Guinea Coast”, it was my intention to justify my journey to the home country. They contain the essential features for a management of the Danish-Guinean possessions, by which an aim is seen for keeping those territories, by which economy could be obtained, and by which the Danish-Guinean might be maintained in a way worthy of the nation. Still considering the mentioned remarks concerning the Guinea Coast, I take the liberty to forward to the Board the following points:

The first and foremost aim of my journey is to establish certainty regarding the existence or non-existence of the Danish-Guinean possessions to Denmark. On this certainty must be founded all that hereafter is to be suggested for decisions of the Board. I urge most humbly that in that case the necessary decisions may be communicated to the Establishment in Guinea.

If the Guinean possessions are to be kept, it will have to be decided: what goal will Denmark at the moment aim at in the Guinean possessions, and how to work towards that goal. The goal must be: the introduction of culture and civilization among the Negroes, and not through immediate measures on the part of the government, but through the well-aimed efforts of the missionaries. The Basel Mission can then with seriousness and strength promote the cultural institutions already started in Africa. I repeat here, that by keeping the Guinean possessions, Denmark contributes her mite to African civilization. Consequently, no measures are to be taken for the direct spreading of culture and civilization in Africa, but indirectly by drawing a plan for the work of the Danish missionaries in West Africa. It should be left to the missionaries to work for culture and enlightenment. The local council gives the mission a hand; it clears away the hindrances, which the missionaries, left alone to them, would not be able to fight. As for the abovementioned, I take the liberty of suggesting to the distinguished Board the expediency of a plan for the work of missionaries [100] in Danish Guinea, to be ordered by the Guinean Establishment by summoning [the help] of Missionary Riis in Guinea.

If it is taken for granted that the Danish-Guinean possessions cannot

be disposed of, and that the mission has been given its right scope for action, the next regard will be to an economical management of the Danish-Guinean Establishment.

If so, as soon as the opportunity arises, Denmark ought to make an attempt to give the Guinean possessions definite and narrower frontiers. If possible, the country east of the Volta River should be abandoned. If an eventual offer from a friendly nation of occupying the mentioned territory should occur, it should be accepted immediately.

From the Establishment in Guinea a plan should be sent to the distinguished Board regarding the most economical management of the Establishment. Included in this should be a change in the salary system, by which the dispatching of a transport ship with goods would be avoided. The civil servants should not be allowed to trade. The Establishment indicates the good opportunity for a private commercial enterprise, which would appear as soon as cargo was not sent on behalf of the Establishment, but as a similar cargo sent on speculation of private interests.

A need that is highly felt in the Danish-Guinean Establishment is the lack of an annual connection with the mother country. As long as the Danish businessman lacks courage and boldness for commercial enterprises, one cannot hope to see commercial links established between Guinea and the Baltic Sea. The only certain means by which it would be possible to communicate directly with the mother country, would be if a Danish warship called at the Coast. I need only suggest, not to propound reasons, for a warship to call on Fort Christiansborg once a year, if no other more important hindrances should arise.

English, French, Dutch and American warships are seen yearly in the Gulf of Guinea. A warship is, for the Negroes, an image of the power of the nation whose flag it carries. Even its presence for a short time is sufficient to quell possible tumults; its expected arrival to prevent them. Officials could be sent to the Coast on a warship without great expense. They could return via the West Indies. The Danish civil servant should not be forced to use the English commercial ships [101] to reach a Danish possession. Objects of scientific significance could reach us without touching foreign soil, without being touched by foreign hands. The Coast would be visited yearly by Danes, and thus become known in Denmark. The secrecy, the mysteriousness, which has covered up

the situation in Guinea and the actions of Guinean civil servants would come to an end.

Having thus indicated the essential reasons for sending a warship to the Guinea Coast, there only remains to mention how to carry the matter through. The Danish warship that leaves yearly for the West Indies might call at the Guinea Coast on its way out. Provided that the brig leaves for the West Indies on 1 May, it should arrive at the West Indies 3 or 4 weeks later, after calling at two points, for example St. George d'Elmina and Cape Coast Castle¹³⁰, even than if the same ship had not arrived at the Guinea Coast [at all]. The stop at Fort St. George d'Elmina and Cape Coast Castle or any other port of call is calculated to 24 hours at each point, at Chief Fort Christiansborg 2 days.

That a warship calls on the Guinea Coast and especially the Danish possession there is a necessary condition for the welfare of those possessions at present. As such this matter is recommended to the concern of the distinguished Board, to a submission for the approval of His Majesty¹³¹.

Edw. Carstensen

14 October 1844

Governor Carstensen's return to Guinea. The latest deaths.

G.J. 758/1844; duplicate 90/1845; here after the duplicate.

Fort Christiansborg, 14 October 1844

After an extraordinarily fast journey, on Tuesday night the 8th this month, the brig *Immanuel* anchored outside Fort Christiansborg. [102]

¹³⁰ The forts St. George d'Elmina and Cape Coast Castle were the seats of respectively the governments of the Dutch and the English possessions on the Gold Coast.

¹³¹ After this report the King resolved on 30 July 1844, that for the time being, there should neither be negotiated nor even considered to hand over the Guinean possessions to a foreign power, and the Establishment was ordered to present a plan for the economic management of the establishments as well as, together with Riis, to make a plan for the activities of the Basel Mission. Further the question on abandoning the territories east of Volta River should be left at the time. (G.J. 650/1844).

On Wednesday morning the fort's canoes boarded. It is known to the distinguished Board, by previous information from the Establishment, that Assistant Erichsen and Pastor Jørgensen have been torn away by the climate. The information about the two deaths was the country's greeting to me, to Doctor Hansen¹³² and his wife, at our arrival here. Pastor Jørgensen's widow will leave the Guinea Coast tomorrow with the bark *Robert Hedle*, Capt. Paddon. The journey back to the fatherland in a cold season, with an infant child, will add to the trials Providence has visited upon her. The debt of Pastor Jørgensen to the royal treasury is only 51 Rdl. 23 3/8 *dam* Guinean courant.

As a consequence of these vacancies, I shall, from the 15th this month, take over the bookkeeping office; Mr. G. Lutterodt continues with the running of the warehouse.

Our hope now is that a Danish warship will visit the Establishment during the coming year, so that the necessary officials will be sent out to the Coast.

Our efforts will, in spite of our weak strength, provide for and maintain order in the management of the Danish-Guinean Establishment.

Edw. Carstensen

¹³² Peter Frederik Lucian Hansen, candidate of surgery (1809-49), had worked as company and battalion surgeon at Helsingør, he married on 16 August 1844 to Fanny Louise von Mehren (1820-45).

13 January 1845

The quarrels in Akuapem and the Ussu's interference, fighting among the two. Ussu-Akim killed; Adum and Sebah-Akim sacrifice two children from Akropong in Ussu. Carstensen puts his post at stake for an exemplary punishment.

G.J. 81/1845, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 118/1845.

Fort Christiansborg, 13 January 1845

Due to lack of shipping opportunities from here to England, I have been unable to report earlier to the distinguished Board the state of affairs of the Danish-Guinean Establishment.

At my arrival here, I found the Akuapem palavers extremely intricate. I summoned Cabuceer Adum and his opponent, namely [103] the Akuapem successor Ussu-Akim, and the mediator Coffy-Krah, down to the fort. Against expectations, Adum came down here; Ussu-Akim and Coffy-Krah appeared with a numerous following.

Since early days Ussu town has had the privilege to act as mediator between disputing parties that have been called down to the fort; a privilege that in future should never be granted to the Negroes, when it can be avoided.

On 25 November in the morning, the Ussu Elders asked for permission to assemble Adum's and Ussu-Akim's parties to a palaver. I gave my permission to this by stating that I hoped the parties, by explaining themselves to each other, would be more amenable to my efforts of conciliation when gathered in the fort.

An hour had hardly passed, before somebody reported to me that the Akuapems were shooting in the town! When I came out of the fort, I saw the Akuapems, actually the Akropong Negroes, fleeing, pursued by the Ussu Negroes.

The Ussu people had, in league with Adum, asked for payment from Ussu-Akim, before they would hear the case. Ussu-Akim refused to pay and said that he had come not to the town, but to the fort. The Ussu people had then beaten and maltreated Ussu-Akim and Coffy-Krah. Instead of seeking refuge in the fort, where they would have enjoyed complete satisfaction, Ussu-Akim and Coffy-Krah fled, while

their people fired their loaded guns at the unarmed gathering, and three people were killed.

Before the evening, the Ussu Negroes came back from the pursuit; Ussu-Akim had been hunted and shot, together with several of his followers.

Up to now the injustice was on both sides. The Ussu people acted arbitrarily and brutally against Ussu-Akim and Coffy-Krah, while the Akropong Negroes shot at the assembled, unarmed Negroes, who for the most part were onlookers.

But during the night the Elders of Ussu town, in connection with Adum, committed a misdeed, on which punishment I must risk the continuation of my position as governor over these establishments.

After the instruction of Adum, two captured children (from Akropong) were killed and sacrificed in the following way! The great drum of the town (which is now in the fort¹³³) was smeared with [their] blood. Great secrecy surrounded this act. [104]

On 16 December I went to Abodée; chiefs were gathered here from most of the towns of Akuapem. Here I decided that for the time being, the Akuapem towns should stay with their respective, special cabuceer, until, after mature reflection, and when peace was consolidated in the country, a new chief could be elected.

Adum will stay in the fort as accessory to murder. His removal from the country will be necessary, if not the fort should not be troubled with his presence, for a long time, if not the Akuapems should forever live in fear of him coming back to the mountains. I suggest that he be deported to the West Indies. I take the liberty of making the distinguished Board aware that deportation of criminals from here to the West Indies would be the only satisfactory way of having any discouraging effect on the evil-minded: On the deportation of criminals and an annual visit by a warship depend peace and order in the country. That people in Denmark have seen peace and order in this country has often been a mystery. Quite a few and quite serious cases have not been mentioned here and ignored in Denmark, the silence of the Establishment has not always been because there was nothing to report!

¹³³ The drum, together with other drums from the Gold Coast, is now in the Ethnographic Department of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen (From *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1945, 18-24).

CLOSING THE BOOKS

By my presence in Abodée, I was apprised of the murder of the two Akropong children. Sebah-Akim, who for a long time had served at the fort as main interpreter, had used the knife! I sent a messenger to the fort, [demanding] that S. Akim should be called in and arrested. I was informed that S. Akim did not want to come to the fort; nothing was done for his detention. When I came from Abodée, I found that Seb. Akim had fled. I have ordered that Ussu town bring forward 200 Rdl. g. Ct. in fines for participating in the murder of 25 November. I demand that S. Akim to be captured and delivered, since the town knows where he is hiding and is supporting him!

This judgement will not be executed as long as I stand here alone against everybody. A strong civil personnel, who, in case of my death, should continue and act in conformity with what I have started here, is necessary. A warship should enable the Establishment to remove Adum and S. Akim from the Coast. I repeat that in this case, which concerns humanity itself, I cannot use [105] palliatives - either my judgement, or another strong and exemplary punishment should be applied, or I will resign¹³⁴.

Edw. Carstensen

14 January 1845

Asking for the approval of the Board to abolish the salaries and customs and to increase the Guinean military force.

G.J. 58/1845, filed under 43/1850; duplicate 106/1845.

Fort Christiansborg, 14 January 1845

As the Establishment most humbly refers to the Establishment's Council and Negotiation Protocol extract no. 173, 10 December¹³⁵,

¹³⁴ This and the following reports occasioned an extensive royal resolution 4 June 1845, by which among other things, a commission was appointed in Guinea to investigate the sacrificial murders in Ussu and determine a suitable punishment, while the governor should be authorized to confirm or soften the judgement, alternatively have the sentenced sent to the West Indies, from where they might be sent further on to Denmark.

¹³⁵ The protocol refers to the royal resolution of 2 August 1844, where the Establishment is ordered to prepare a saving plan for the management of the

it is recommended that the thereby determined abolition of salaries and customs to Negroes and villages, receive the approbation of the distinguished Board.

By the same decision the determined increase in the military forces of the Establishment to 76 soldiers, is hereby recommended for approbation as a temporary arrangement, closely connected to the abolition of salaries and custom. Thus, the expenses of the increase in the military force will be covered by the amounts saved from custom and salaries.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

14 January 1845

Reduction in the villeins' wages.

G.J. 59/ 1845, filed under 43/1850; duplicate 107/1845.

Fort Christiansborg, 14 January 1845

For the distinguished Board's approval, it is recommended that the reduction in the salaries of the villeins, which is stated in the Establishment's [106] Council and Negotiation Protocol extract no. 174, 10 December, by which a reduction of more than 100 per cent will be realized by the future payment system of the villeins¹³⁶.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

Guinean possessions. The abolision of salaries and customs must be seen as part of these savings. It should be effective from 1 January 1845. At the same time 26 new soldiers shall be appointed to the artillery (G.J. 61/1845).

¹³⁶ According to the protocol, a great deal of the villeins shall be discharged, especially craftsmen, after which, repairs and construction works shall be mintained by hired people. From 1 January 1845 the villeins shall be paid in goods, as they will receive monthly 1 iron rod to 4 *cabes boss*, 1/8 barrel of gunpowder to 4 *cabes*, 1 flint to 6 *cabes*, lead to 25 *dam*, knife to 5 *dam*, rum to 10 1/2 *dam*, romals to 4 *cabes* and tom coffy to 4 *cabes boss* (G.J. 61/1845).

14 January 1845

Five Negro children from Akropong are sold to a Negro from Way, but captured and brought back to their families. The dispute about the succession of the throne in Akuapem ended. Seven Ussu-Negroes saved by the intervention of Missionary Riis. Difficult to put an end to the slave trade of Way. Other powers enforcing abolition of slave trade. Coffee crop last year poor.

G.J. 82/1845, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 119/1845.

Fort Christiansborg, 14 January 1845

In league with the towns Labodei and Thessing¹³⁷, during the fight with the Akropong Negroes, the Ussus sold 5 Akropong children, whom they had caught. They were sold to a Thessing Negro, a delegate from the town Vay, for \$16 each. A vague rumour about the matter reached me, I promised a reward to the informer, but the Ussus refused the deal. Then a non-commissioned officer learnt from a Negro who was travelling, that he had met the abovementioned 5 Akropong-slaves. But, it was fortunate for me that, on 7 December, I heard that supervisor at Kongensten, H.P. Hansen, had arrested the slaves while passing by. They were brought here, and are now in Akropong. Ussu town is fined \$80, which was the amount they received from the sale. I told them that the case would be reported to His Majesty the King, who would have to determine the town's involvement in the slave trade.

On 16 and 17 December, the Akropong Negroes, who, through the intervention of the fort, were saved from the hands of the Ussu Negroes, were sent to their homes. Some of them followed me to Abodée.

By a series of crimes, Adum has forfeited his freedom. Ussu-Akim has lost his life because of his own impetuosity. Thus the dispute [107] on the supremacy of Akuapem is closed for the time being. The inhabitants of this country feel the need for calm and peace, and I hope they will enjoy both.

The Akropong Negroes have so far shown, mainly through the intervention of Missionary Riis, that they could control blood

¹³⁷ The towns of Labodei and Thessing are located east of Christiansborg.

vengeance. Seven Ussu Negroes went to Missionary Riis at Akropong as envoys [*dragtbærere*]. They were arrested. There was a demand for their blood, but they were set free against some compensation, paid by Missionary Riis, to whom the seven Negroes owed their life and limb. What evidently has been happening all the time is now clear. Negroes are brought from here and from all the towns along the coast from here to Cape Coast, to the market in Vay. If Vay is suppressed, another town beyond Quitta, will come up as a market place, on neutral ground. Mora is in Vay now, and the Vay Negroes have declared (to an English captain of my acquaintance) that they were ready to show the Danish governor that they could use their flintlocks if he should visit them. It is also out of question to chase Mora from Vay with 25 to 50 soldiers. To pay Negro towns to fight against Vay is a measure that should never be taken, if not absolutely necessary. The fort must show that it is capable by its own strength, to carry through its own commands and those of the King of Denmark.

England is increasing its steam ship fleet in these waters. 5 huge steam ships are already crossing in the Gulf of Guinea, 6 others are expected. One might reckon the expenses of England in suppressing the slave trade, when hearing that the largest steam ship in the English navy, *Penelope*, is steadily cruising [on lookout] for slave ships, that 4 other large steam ships, and quite soon a large number, will come under the command of Commander Foote¹³⁸. For these ships, the average daily expense of coal, is calculated to 16 tons a £2 Sterling per ton.

The Americans have sent out three corvettes to replace those ships that were at the station. For the moment they are gathered, a nice little squadron!

We hear a rumour that France will be sending out a large steam warship as a means of communication between Senegal and Gabon. The Dutch in Elmina have, with a 101 cannon salute, welcomed a transport ship from Holland, which was bringing miners and tools for a planned goldmine in the Ahanta country, northwest of Elmina. [108]

During these days three missionaries from the Basel Mission have arrived via London, Messrs. Riis, Sebald and Schedt¹³⁹. On that occasion Missionary Riis is expected down here.

¹³⁸ Believed to be John Foote, appointed commander on 29 March 1845.

¹³⁹ Ernst Friederich Sebald (1814- 45) and Friederich Schiedt (b.1819), returned to Europe after some few years stay at the Gold Coast).

CLOSING THE BOOKS

In the roads there is a frigate, carrying missionaries from the Church Missionary Society¹⁴⁰ in England, from Sierra Leone to Badagry¹⁴¹. A total of 30 souls will be walking into the country on a four-day journey, northeast of Badagry to Yaruba country, where the inhabitants are expecting them.

Doctor Hansen has recovered from the ague, after a fairly tough fight with it; otherwise the health situation is good.

The coffee crop last year at the plantation Frederiksgave gave a very meagre profit, only some few pounds.

On 1 January this year, as well as on Christmas Day, church service was held in the church of the fort. I read for the congregation, prayers for the royal family and the fatherland, prayers for those serving the government here - and they are quite few.

Edw. Carstensen

26 February 1845

The Establishment deprives the supervisor Jelstrup of the Silver Cross of the Order of Dannebrog, for accepting a bribe.

G.J.62/1845.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 February 1845

A most humble reply to the letter of the distinguished Board of 14 September 1844, regarding the previous *Dannebrogsman* Chr. Jelstrup, it observes:

As supervisor to Fort Kongensten, Jelstrup received a complaint to present for the Establishment. Jelstrup was paid by the opponent of the complainant not to report the submitted complaint, but rather to take sides against the accuser, thus giving rise to an intricate and long-lasting palaver.

The Establishment was of the opinion that Jelstrup had broken the

¹⁴⁰ The English *Church Missionary Society* was founded in London by John Venn and Thomas Scott 1799 and tried from 1841 to send missionaries to Nigeria (Eugene Stock: *The History of the Church Missionary Society* I, 1899, 455 ff).

¹⁴¹ Badagry is on the coast of Nigeria, while Yoruba nation is found north and south of Nigeria.

oath [109] and loyalty that he owed the King, as a *Dannebrogsman*, and deprived him of an honour, whose reputation is still regarded without violation and as such it shall remain.

According to the local situation here, the conditions of the regulation of 28 January 1809, § 7¹⁴², could not fully be complied with. In regard to that regulation concerning means of punishment which has loss of medals as a consequence, this cannot here be fully exercised in strict accordance with the regulation. It should here be enough that the subject has forfeited his good name and reputation in the eyes of the authority and fellow servants, despite his not being punished according to the regulations.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

26 February 1845

The course of the case on the sacrifice of the children in Ussu. Sebah-Akim under arrest, and the brig Le Grenadier comes to assistance of the fort. The house of Sebah-Akim burnt down. His confession. Proposal for his deportation.

G.J. 83/1845, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 120/1845.

¹⁴² The arrangement for the *Dannebrogsman* [pl. *mænd*] of 28 January 1809 tells: “Since the King thus has given this token of honour an excellent distinction, he also expects that the *Dannebrogsmand* by unshakeable loyalty towards the King and the fatherland and in all circumstances perform an honourable conduct, always will strive to maintain and increase the respect they have acquired. But should a *Dannebrogsman* deny the honour that was the intention of the King to enliven, like he, by the court, is being accused or prosecuted for an act which could lead to punishment or loss of the honour or the rejection of public regard, then it is the duty of the court, unconditionally, to report to the collegium in question that this might occasion the conscription of the conductor of the Order [*Ordens-Kapitule*] for a royal resolution saying that the accused or prosecuted until further notice should not be entitled to carry his token of honour. Likewise, no judgement that would involve bodily or disgraceful punishment should be executed on a *Dannebrogsman*, before the token of honour, according to a resolution issued by the conductor and sanctioned by the King, have been taken away from him, which, on that occasion should without delay be forwarded to the conductor.”

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 26 February 1845

Against expectations, I did not succeed in sending the letter of the Establishment of 13-14 January, I am therefore able to in connection with the mentioned letter, and as a continuation of the same, to report to the distinguished Board, the following: [110]

Ussu town did nothing to solve the murder case, and the case rested heavily on me. Not only did Ussu town wish the case to go unnoticed, but they even let the murderer Sebah-Akim come into his house at night. Between the evening and morning watch guns, Sebah-Akim was undisturbed in town in spite of the orders from the fort.

On 2 February, at 12:00 at night, Sgt. Svedstrup¹⁴³, with 6 soldiers, went quietly to the house in which, by spying, they knew that S. A. spent the night. 10 minutes later he was in the fort. The night passed quietly, with the exception of the town's wenches, namely those belonging to S. A.'s extended family, who by screaming and shouting through the streets of the town, tried to get the men into action.

On Monday 3rd everything seemed quiet. It was said that the numerous slaves of S. A. would come from the plantation.

The French naval brig *Le Grenadier* with the chief of the West African station, Capt. Baudin, on board, anchored at 6:30 in the Danish roads. After a stay of approximately one hour on board *Le Grenadier*, I left the ship with 5 French officers. When we approached the breakers, we saw armed Negroes on the beach. The remidors [rowers] said they were Sebah-Akim's men, who were going to shoot me. A signal from the fort, warned me against landing.

Captain Baudin offered at once to have the French warship at my disposal. It was agreed on board the brig *Le Grenadier*, that when a French flag was hoisted at the signal flag post of the fort, the French landing forces should start moving towards the coast.

At the beach of the landing, however, soldiers from the fort were seen, and at 10:00, accompanied by the French officers, I was in the fort.

Both the town and the cabuceer's quarters had looked on calmly as S. A's people had gathered and moved towards the beach, with the purpose of shooting me – me, who in this case wanted to punish a

¹⁴³ Johan Vilhelm Svedstrup (1819-93), seargent in the Guinean troops 1844.

disgraceful murder. I let the town know, that what I had predicted, would now happen: I was going to shoot at the compound in town (the cabuceer's), where the human sacrifice had taken place, where S. A.'s people had gathered, where no one had done anything, or wanted to do anything, to prevent the morning's event. The shooting started at 11:00. |111| To give the women and children time to flee the compound under attack, there was approximately 30 minutes between the first and the following shot.

At 12:00, I marched out with the garrison and set fire to the house under attack (belonging to S. A.'s family). The fire spread in a semi-circle around the fort. With the exception of the compound of the mediator, the other compounds of the town had their share of the deserved punishment. They had not wanted to pay the fines for participating in the human sacrifice they now had to pay without being asked.

At 11:30, 50 French sailors landed under the command of *enseigne de vais* [Second Lieutenant] Liais¹⁴⁴. By watching and hearing the shooting from the fort and the smoke from the town, Mr. Liais found it was his duty to approach the fort. I mentioned to Capt. Baudin that a landing was certainly not necessary, but that the troops, since they had inconvenienced themselves to such a degree, surely could land now and get refreshments in the fort. I thanked Capt. Baudin for the demonstration of his officers. The Negroes would thereby experience, that the Europeans, the Christians, when it comes to observing law and justice, to punish the rebel and the criminal, are fraternally united.

On Tuesday 4th I accompanied the French officers on a visit to English Accra. The capture of S. Akim, the French warships' highly convenient arrivals (the brig *l'Eglantine*, Capt. Potestas¹⁴⁵, anchored in the English roads today), have made a strong impression on the Negroes. The fire in town and the recollection of it, will maintain this impression.

On Wednesday 5th *Le Grenadier* left; *l'Eglantine* anchored in Danish roads; the officers were my guests on Friday night.

On Thursday 6th I conveyed to the Negroes the information that they could move back to town again, that the sacrifice in town was now revenged! However, the area of the town, which is situated between the outwork of the fort and the murder place, would, as a warning and a

¹⁴⁴ *Enseigne de vaisseau*, naval second lieutenant. Jules Liais was appointed second lieutenant in 1839.

¹⁴⁵ Louis-Paul Potestas, appointed *enseigne de vaisseau* 1837.

reminder, be torn down and cleared. The demolition has been started, and will be completed later.

On Saturday 8th I started the interrogation of Sebah-Akim. Messrs. G. Lutterodt and Svedstrup were present as witnesses. I told S. A. that the misdeed was proven, confessed by all; I only wanted to have his account of his implication. [112]

Sebah-Akim confessed the following: present at the murder of the two Akropong children, on the night of 25 November, were the cabuceers of Labodei, Thessing and Ussu, and all the Ussu Elders. The Akuapem cabuccer, Adum, told the gathering, that when he was sitting in pillory [*“sat I klodsen”*] in Akropong, the two children had been pulling the hair on his legs and thrown water on a certain part of his body; therefore they could just as well kill them! The gathering had then said to S. A. that he should “cover the faces” of the children, i.e. kill them – and he killed them.

S. A. called me to report his case as cautiously as possible to H. M. the King; he asked me to remember that the Ussu Elders had advised him not to give in to the authorities.

I made known to S.A., that he had to remember that Gov. Maclean for approximately 4 years ago in Annamabuh¹⁴⁶, had three Fante Negroes executed for participating in human sacrifice; that this punishment would have been his lot if the Danish Establishment has had the same authority regarding punishment of misdeeds as what is given to the English management on the Guinea Coast.

I cannot resist reporting the last comment of S. A. to me before he was taken back to the prison. I thought S. A. was tormented with loathing for the admitted misdeed and was reflecting on the consequences – how surprised I was when I heard him saying: “The Governor has not been kind to me, since I was arrested he has not brought me any schnapps!” Yet, this kind of insensibility is inbred in the Negro.

Sebah-Akim and Adum are chained together in a secure prison. The Establishment recommends the distinguished Board to consider the crime of Cabuceer Adum and Sebah-Akim. Deportation from this country seems to be the mildest judgement. If a Danish warship should reach these establishments before the decision of the distinguished Board,

¹⁴⁶ Anamabo, village where the English Fort Anomabu was located. The Fante nation stretches along the coast from Ahanta and eastward in approx 200 km.

the Establishment will judge as its duty, after written correspondence with the chief of the warship, to have S. A. and Adum, if possible, brought on board and taken away from this place, where their presence is highly troublesome.

When I look back at the events of the last week, [113] I cannot thank Providence enough, that I, due to a series of lucky coincidences, have been able to punish, without bloodshed, one of many gruesome misdeeds in a manner unforgettable to the ones punished.

I take here the liberty to mention *Capit. de corvette* Baudin, chief of the French-African naval station. The distinguished Board might look at it as right and appropriate that this officer is given a proof, that the Danish government rewards all demonstration in favour of their interests, even though the demonstration in some cases might seem unnecessary¹⁴⁷.

I must highly praise chief of guard (Sgt.) Svedstrup's participation in the arrest of S. Akim and the following events.

What for long time has been aimed at, what Governor Lind tried in vain to achieve with money, has now happened as punishment. To make the place where the human sacrifice so willingly was executed, clearly seen from the fort, a wideopen space has been cleared between the outwork and the town; the fort has gained a free and airy site.

In Akuapem, to this date, everything is quiet. The Ussu Negroes dare not approach the mountains, where, as is quite reasonable, they will not have free passage for the time being.

Otherwise the question of succession in Akuapem is still not decided. It is obvious that Adum is not qualified for the cabuceer stool.

I would regard it as useful for the troubled Akuapem, if they could, as at present, remain under the special town-cabuceers, different interests and mutual fear would keep the individual calm.

Edw. Carstensen

8 March 1845

Proposal of a new instruction for the Establishment and a new regulation on the expenditures.

G.J. 57/1845, filed under 43/1850.

¹⁴⁷ Baudin seems not to have received any recognition from Denmark.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 8 March 1845

*Draft on a regulation for the management of the Royal Establishment in Guinea
and a change in the regulation of the expenditures*

[114] Hereby most humbly dispatched to the distinguished Board, a draft on changes in the regulations of the expenditures.

During the preparation of this draft it became evident to the Establishment that the Regulation of 30 September 1820, in its old form, would only slightly comply with the intentions stated in the draft on changing the regulation of the expenditures. For this reason the Reg. of 30 September 1820, has been rewritten and changed, and in this new form it is hereby sent as “Draft on Instructions for the management of the Establishment”.

To the distinguished Board’s consideration and resolution, I recommend especially the following in “Draft for Instructions”:

§§ 13, 14, 15. Aiming at maintaining jurisdiction

§ 24. On salary and custom to Negroes and Negro villages

§ 59, 60. On church service in the fort

§ 62. On missionaries

Concerning the recommended new “Regulation on expenditures”:

§ 22. Salary system

§ 18. On prohibition of the officials dealing in trade

§ 26, 27 and 30. On providing rum and *panties*-cloth and its accessories

§ 35. On workers in the fort’s service

§ 36. On construction work

The written resolutions mentioned in “Draft on Instructions” comply with the intent of the changed expenditure regulations.

Regarding payment to the European servants, the prohibition against trading has been taken into consideration [§18], and as a consequence, the salaries are increased.

It seems cheap that 2nd assistant, the doctor and the catechist enjoy equal salary.

Regarding licensed soldiers, each year there is an ever more pressing need for an increase in salaries. The garrison is estimated to 70 privates; this number can possibly be decreased when the market situation allows it.

The construction force requires a sum of 500 Rdl. g. Ct. According to the regulations in “Draft on instructions”, § 35-36, it is a condition that the villeins are released or are otherwise not a burden on the royal treasury throughout the whole year. [115]

It is expected that savings can be realized on amounts quoted to plantations, for ammunition, for gifts to Negroes, people on pension, expenses, which cannot be estimated with particular accuracy.

The desire to send to the distinguished Board, as soon as possible, and namely with the departing mailbox, “A plan for a change in the economic management of the Establishment”, has occasioned the Establishment to prepare the plan in the form and appearance in which it is most humbly forwarded; the pressures of business have not allowed for an accurate and reasoned presentation of the case.

With the hope that the distinguished Board will find the dispatched work useful as material to benefit changes in the administration of the Establishment, it is recommended for the approbation of the distinguished Board.

Edw. Carstensen/George Lutterodt

Draft on instructions for the management of the Royal Establishment in Guinea

§1. The management of the Guinean Establishment shall have its seat in the Chief Fort Christiansborg – it consists of the Governor and the second closest administration officers as councillors.

§2. The main objectives of the Establishment shall be:
To guard the territorial rights of His Majesty over the regions and places whose inhabitants fly the Danish flag.

1. To guard and help His Majesty’s subjects in their legal enterprises on this territory.
2. Strictly and most carefully prevent export of slaves.
3. In a most economical way manage the Establishment and in no way exceed the regular annual fund.
4. Thus it shall be the general duty of the Establishment, with the greatest diligence, enterprise and vigilance, to observe all that might be necessary for this aim, and to prevent whatever might encroach upon it. [116]

CLOSING THE BOOKS

§3. To the Establishment belongs all the coast line from Ussu at Fort Christiansborg to Quitta at Fort Prinsensten, as well as the inhabitants of the Akuapem mountains, Akim country and that at the Volta River, with the exception of the two Negro villages, Grand Prampram and Little Prampram, at Fort Vernon, which, for the moment, belong to a foreign power.

§4. The management of the Establishment is organized thus:

a. The governor is the only commander in military matters and keeps the garrison of the fort strongly disciplined. Written extracts of military articles for the garrison, as well as concepts on the duties of a soldier, shall be read and commented on at the parade on Sunday mornings, and this is also the case concerning all weapon exercises.

All other things regarding the garrisons' salaries, expenses in military matters, and all connected to that, are undertaken and decided upon in an assembled Establishment.

In the same way the Establishment deliberates on what shall be done in case of emergency when disturbances occur, but the execution of a decision as a matter of military command falls under the jurisdiction of the governor.

b. In civil cases the governor is the highest authority, who will, as such, observe that everybody is doing their duty; if the governor should neglect this, he will incur the blame himself.

Moreover all civil cases are common administrative cases for the whole Establishment, and are decided in assembled meetings according to the prescribed rules.

The Establishment looks after the estates in the same manner as that required of the authorities in Denmark.

§5. In cases of military command the governor alone will endorse, but in cases of the Establishment the governor will endorse in the first line, the advisory councillors in the second.

In official correspondence with foreign governments, the governor alone will endorse.

§6. The Establishment meets every Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock or whenever the governor finds it necessary.

§7. The negotiations of the Establishment will be recorded under the following headings:

1. Serial number of case; 2. Its date; 3. Its major circumstances;

[117] 4. The decision of the Establishment; 5. When case is settled.

Cases received in writing are registered according to contents and filed, when executed, under the annual serial number in the archives.

Whatever the members of the Establishment wish to propose for deliberation or decision, can be acted on in the Assembly either verbally or in writing. In both instances the case will be recorded.

Since the Negroes and some of the Mulattos, cannot explain themselves in writing, the council shall receive their verbal petitions, which are recorded and treated in all respects as if received in writing.

§8. The governor presides over the Establishment Assembly; the administrative servant, to whom the secretarial function has been delegated, shall record proceedings. The case will be decided according to the greatest numbers of votes. When two voters agree, the case will run its course, while the third voter records his dissenting opinion in the protocol. When all have different opinions, the case will be postponed, if it can be postponed, and it will be reported to the decision of the Board. Otherwise, it will be decided by the judgment of the governor, who will be responsible, and the divergent opinions will be recorded.

It is a matter of course that none of the members of the Establishment can vote in their own cases.

Before the Establishment Assembly is closed, all members shall endorse the negotiations of the day.

§9. The Establishment's Council and Negotiation Protocol shall be closed each year and kept in the archives of the Establishment. A duplicate shall be sent home to the Board, as far as the negotiations have come at the time of departure. The transcript shall therefore always be completed by the secretaries, and consequently continues each week, [in order] not to lose a convenient opportunity when it arises.

§10. Besides the transcript of the Council and Negotiation Protocol, the Establishment shall at any convenient opportunity, dispatch home reports on the state of affairs of the Establishment, the standing volume of goods, current additions to, and reduction of personnel, everything of importance that occurs, of the Negro nations' internal relations and their relation to the Establishment, [118] if other established nations on the Gold Coast undertake anything that might exert influence on the Establishment, on the moral behaviour of the Negroes, on extended power over the inhabitants of the country, plantation properties or

encouragement to inhabitants in growing colonial products, etc., all that the Establishment feels might have any influence or interest.

§ 11. In cases of vacancies they will be filled temporarily, by seniority in the vacant position or positions. The temporary appointment in the vacant position shall enjoy full salary according to the position from the time of the advancement, until the position is occupied, but thereafter half salary and other incomes. If the situation should occur that anybody would have to take care of a vacancy, totally or partly, in addition to its own work, the income shall be paid accordingly.

If anybody is temporarily appointed in some ones else's legal absence, the absentee enjoys half salary and the substitute the other half, together with the income of his position. If he in this situation should neglect his own business, totally or partly, the income shall be adjusted accordingly.

Substitutions or the apportioning to the substitutes of business and salaries, are to be decided and announced according to the measures given by the Establishment above.

§12. Every newly-appointed or temporarily appointed civil servant, who has not taken his oath to His Majesty, shall do so according to usual practice in the Establishment Assembly, then to be placed in the written archives.

§13. The Establishment must know how to apply all the means at its disposal to strengthen and extend its prestige and influence with the inhabitants of the country, and through suitable measures, inform the inhabitants of the concepts of law and order.

§14. All debt cases which are reported by the inhabitants to the fort, shall be decided and recorded in an authorized Debt Protocol, by the servant who is appointed by the Establishment, usually the 1st administrative secretary.

All cases that do not concern debts shall be judged by the governor. The protocol for this is conducted by the secretary of the governor.

Three times a week, at previously announced fixed times, everybody and anyone can bring forward their complaints to the abovementioned judges. [119] Only in debt cases a fee of 1 Rdl. Guinean courant 10 *dam* is paid, which falls to the debt collection cash fund.

On every first Tuesday of the month, all protocols concerning debt cases and palavers are presented to the Establishment Assembly.

§15. In important criminal cases the Establishment will pass sentence together with 2 Mulattos and 2 Negroes, called as assessors.

The governor is authorized to order immediate execution by hanging after the sentence by which obvious murderers, actors and participants in human sacrifices are condemned to death. In all other cases the resolution of His Majesty is to be awaited.

It shall in no way be allowed, with money or other monetary value to mitigate murder or other misdeeds for which the Negro is imprisoned, equal to blood money or close to it. In these cases death penalty or deportation to the West Indies are substituted according to the circumstances of the case.

He who practices or takes part in export of slaves from the Establishment will be punished by deportation.

The Negro village that has suffered such export will be punished by fines. In case of repetition the Establishment is to devise a deeply felt punishment on the rebellious town.

Above all, when court cases are considered, the Establishment shall see to it that common legal principles are considered and applied, rather than the customs of the Negroes. It is taken for granted that the Establishment acts cautiously, and carefully weighs the unlawful or immoral tendency of the custom before working against it.

The Establishment sees to it at resolutions of palavers, that the frequent fetish-frauds are duly punished.

§16. Toward European foreign establishments, peace and good understanding are always maintained, and as a result, the Establishment shall in general, and the governor in particular, avoid any kind of disputes, but should any occur, in spite of this, which cannot be settled without offending the rights of His Majesty, the case shall be recommended for a decision in Europe, and the Establishment shall then, immediately, and at the first opportunity, report the case with everything that has occurred, conversations or correspondence, clearly and thoroughly, to the Board. [120] Should, however, an unfriendly attack occur, the Establishment shall try to avoid it with all the force that necessity demands.

§17. It is the duty of the Establishment, to make sure that not more Negroes are let into the fort at one time, than what the staff can handle.

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§18. It is supposed, without exception, that the European servants do not involve themselves in any kind of trade or traffic, as long as they stay in service.

§19. His Majesty's subjects by birth, and those who have obtained native rights, can settle anywhere in the royal territory and shall enjoy all the protection and support the Establishment can afford, such as protection of their goods in the warehouse of the fort, and if possible, rooms in the fort for a temporary stay. They are also entrusted to make a suitable use of the dismantled forts Augustaborg, Fredensborg, Kongensten and Prinsensten; although this should not lead to any expenses of repair on the royal treasury, but, rather, the one enjoying such facilities, should have to bear the cost of his own conveniences.

The Establishment shall, depending upon the circumstances, prevent anyone of foreign, non-native nation[ality], from trading under the Establishment, in immediate [contact] with the natives.

§20. The subordinate administrative servants are thus organized: The 1st administrative servant under the governor, shall as cashier and warehouse keeper, be responsible for the supply of cash and goods, and supervise the building sector.

The second administrative servant shall as secretary and bookkeeper, manage all office work, estates and conduct auctions.

Details of these regulations are stated in the special regulations below, and this § shall not be of any hindrance for the two servants, with the acceptance of the governor, to act differently according to their convenience, to share the work between them, and in that case, each one is responsible for the tasks he is undertaking.

A voluntary and an extra clerk shall be at hand for these servants in their work.

§21. The three last Sundays of the month, are ordinary pay days. Before the pay day, the bookkeeper prepares [121] the accounts for the cashier, on how much is due for each of those to be paid.

§22. All salaries are usually handed out in cash, being gold, silver or *boss*, according to a fixed rate. Since, however, *panties*-cloth and rum necessarily must be available as temporary salary for the workers, preparations, gifts to Negroes and Negro villages, to the governor's entertainment, etc., the bookkeeper is authorized to pass for payment, on outstanding salaries to the European servants of the two mentioned

goods, to salary to staff, buying of provisions, worker's payment, etc.

The garrison is paid, partly in cash, partly with the two mentioned goods, to a cost price determined by the Establishment, with an addition for landing and other expenses.

The European servants can also, when they desire it, have their outstanding salary, on instruction from the Establishment, drawn on the basis of one month in money from the National Bank, silver coins $1 \frac{3}{5}$ for 1 Rdl. Guinean salary price. But it is an absolute condition, that assigned orders cannot exceed what the subject is really entitled to of outstanding salary, and that these orders can only be effectuated by a letter of advice from the Establishment, based on the bookkeeper's special declaration on at what point the assigned salary has been earned.

§23. The subordinate European servants will, during the first year after arrival to the Coast, be totally exempted from instalments on salary advances received at home, which, however, have to be paid the following second year. Moreover advances should be avoided, and only in urgent cases can the Establishment grant up to a half year's salary and with instalments in fixed rates.

§24. As the inhabitants on the stretches of land that belong to His Majesty's territorial rights, are not thereby bothered with contributions of any kind, receive by the authority of the Establishment protection against internal and external enemies, have their disputes determined, and as such without fear of tyrannical violence and extortion, can work for their own happiness and welfare, thus it is a matter of course, that the Negro chiefs, the Negro villages shall not pay for the protection they are offered. When all salaries and customs to Negroes and Negro villages are abolished and cease to exist, it is up to the judgement of the Establishment [122] to give the Negroes and the Negro villages, that have deserved so, suitable gifts in *panties*-cloth and rum, which mostly will be offered on the birthday of His Majesty, although this should be sparse and with close attention to the subjects behaviour towards the Establishment.

§25. The Establishment as a whole, and each member in particular, is responsible for everyone, be it White, Mulatto, Negro, enjoying all that the regulation and instruction to which they are entitled.

§26. It is left in the care of the Establishment, to have the necessary

provision of *panties*-cloth and rum, on the cheapest terms. The need shall in that respect be reported for the resolution of the Board.

§27. The stock of *panties*-cloth and rum must not exceed the consumption of one year.

§28. In case any remittances from here should be delayed, and the status of cash makes it necessary, the Establishment is permitted to provide cash for exchange on the basis of 90 days drawn on the Board, payable in Copenhagen or London, although, never to a higher amount than 12,000 Rbd. or £1,500 Sterling, each half year.

§29. The warehouse keeper shall, when receiving cash, *panties*-cloth, rum, materials, etc., carefully check the quality and quantity, for which he is responsible. He shall therefore in case of any deficit, report in writing to the Establishment, to note what should be remembered, to bring about a necessary control, since later he will be responsible for the quality and quantity, how it should be or in what condition it was at arrival.

§30. At evaporation of the rum, the warehouse keeper receives a compensation of 6 p. Ct., by which the rum should be of equal strength as at delivery to the warehouse keeper. This compensation of 6 p. Ct. will be added to the expenses when rum is purchased.

The empty rum barrels should be sold at auctions or otherwise in accordance with the opinion of the Establishment.

§31. The warehouse keeper shall keep strict order and cleanliness in the warehouse, and carefully look after what is entrusted to him, and since he is responsible, he shall not, except in [123] case of illness or other lawful cases of absence, leave the opening of the warehouse to somebody else, but always be present himself.

As his assistants in the warehouse, he can take in two Negroes, whom he can accept or dismiss at his own discretion, and they shall not take orders to carry on any business by anyone else.

§32. The warehouse keeper is in charge of all payments; they shall proceed according to the instruction of the bookkeeper on the subject's outstanding salary, or on otherwise prescribed amounts, or on the instruction of the governor in unprescribed circumstances. These instructions are kept by the warehouse keeper as his proofs, and the expenses are kept in the journal with article name, quantity, amount according to the prices of the Establishment, to whom it has been paid and on whose instructions.

§33. All transactions from the warehouse shall take place on regular salary days. Extraordinary transactions, such as preparations, payment for finished work, etc., can be executed at any time on the instruction of the Establishment.

§34. During the last 14 days of December, the transactions in the warehouse for the current year shall be terminated, in order to close the accounts of the year and prepare the new account books.

§35. The Establishment shall in future refrain from any purchase of Negroes, or taking Negroes as debt security, for work in the fort. On the contrary, it shall be a general rule to the Establishment, to take the advantage of hiring free or unfree Negroes to do occasional work. For the daily work in the fort, there shall be so few working Negroes as possible, preferably only those for cleaning the fort, as assistants in the warehouse and the necessary numbers of cattlemen.

§36. The warehouse keeper shall as building supervisor, look after Fort Christiansborg, the tower *Prøvesten*¹⁴⁸, the building *Fredriksberg*¹⁴⁹, and the plantation-house *Frederiksgave*, to keep them in proper and habitable condition. Each year after the rainy season, necessary repairs and the white washing of the buildings with hired workers shall be undertaken.

All additions and changes on the buildings, any work beyond the necessary repair and whitening of the buildings, shall be reported to the Board, accurately and well-grounded, with detailed estimates of the expenses, and the resolution of the Board shall be awaited. |124|

§37. All accounts shall be kept in rixdaler Guinean courant and *dam*, 1 dollar Guinean courant = 50 *dam*. 1/16 ounce of gold or 1 pound is estimated to 1 1/5 Rdl. g. Ct.

All changes regarding the rates of value shall be reported timely to the Board.

§38. The functioning warehouse keeper has the following accounts to report:

Journal of goods, materials and tools.

Daily and at each transaction, all that is received or taken out of each type of goods, gold, silver, *boss*, materials or inventory, shall be accounted for.

¹⁴⁸ *Prøvesten* [Touchstone], a redoubt built in 1778, just outside the western walls of Fort Christiansborg.

¹⁴⁹ *Fredriksberg*, a garden estate [on Kuku Hill], c. 1,5 km. north of Christiansborg.

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Regarding the income, it is accounted for, from whom it is received, or where it belongs, etc., which thereby should be remembered as to order and value of the income.

Regarding the expense, it is accounted for, to whom it is for, and why it is there, such as salary, cleared for buying of *boss*, or other goods.

Regarding the cost and of what kind, for building or inventory for craftsmen or for other use; further it shall be explained: the origin of the expense, such as the salary estimates of the bookkeeper, prescription on regulated expenses or prescription by the Establishment, and, finally, the amount shall be recorded in Establishment price.

§39. The signed journal of the warehouse keeper shall be presented weekly in the Establishment Assembly, each Tuesday for the previous week, although only in duplicate, documented with copies of vouchers on incomes and expenses, against which the warehouse keeper, for his own knowledge and security, will keep the running journals and the original vouchers on income and expenses. These accounts shall immediately be examined by the Establishment, if anything is to be postponed or commented on, and delivered the same day with the endorsement of the Establishment to the bookkeeper.

If the accounting matters are delayed on that particular day, it will be noted in the Establishment Protocol, and if this should occur without any acceptable reason, then there will be a fine of 2 Rdl. for each day in the following week, and on the third week the Establishment will investigate more closely for the reason, and depending on the circumstances, the fine will be increased, or somebody else will be constituted at the expense of the warehouse keeper, until everything is brought in order.[125]

§40. The account begins at 1 January and ends the following 31 December.

§41. *The bookkeeping shall be kept in the following books:*

A. *The cash balance book*

Here income and expense for every trade group, materials, inventory, etc., that the warehouse keeper is responsible for, shall be transferred from the warehouse keeper's journal, so that every item of goods, etc, has its own account for income and expense with columns for month, date, quantity and the Establishment price. For tools and craftsmen's

tools only one account is necessary, for the less important materials only one account, for the inventory of the surgeon, the sergeant and the constable, an account each, and one account for the livestock.

The general rule for this book, is that it should be kept so precisely, clearly and accurately, that at any time one can see what the warehouse keeper has in stock of any trade group, and also materials, inventory, etc., which are under his supervision or keeping.

Likewise [with] what the sergeant and the constable have in store. Further, at the closure of the accounting year, the following information could be disclosed in the ledger: a) a cash balance on the value of all goods and the cash flow, which is used on salaries and expenditure; b) a cash balance on the value of all materials; c) as well as on the inventory of which the warehouse keeper is in charge, d) the value of the inventory of the surgeon; e) the value of the inventory of the army and the artillery; f) the number and value of livestock.

B. *The salary book*

Here all those belonging to Chief Fort Christiansborg, who has a fixed salary, being White, Mulatto, Negro, and also the Mulatto treasury fund with the regulated 150 Rdl., have an account, the account where debit and credit can be kept on the same page under the columns: month, date, quantity of the particular trade goods, gold, silver, boss or cash, what the subject has received, tax to the Mulatto treasury fund, auctions and the like, the amount in debit of the salary price, the amount in credit likewise. Temporary allowance [*vartpenge*] to staff who are granted exemption by the royal resolution of 13 December 1816¹⁵⁰, does not belong in the salary book, but in the fixed account in the expense book.

Debiting and crediting between the salary receivers, shall both be recorded only under the condition that the one who wishes to [126] debit on his salary for the benefit of another, should have that much overdue on his salary, as the debit amount he is receiving, in like manner he must ask for it in writing, which will be kept together with his salary account.

¹⁵⁰ This resolution concerns the reductions of the expenses for the Danish Establishment in Guinea. (G.J. 1488/1816).

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At the back of the salary book, a recapitulation of the amounts debited and credited on behalf of the salary receivers, is entered.

A general rule for the salary book is that, at any time, it shall be able to inform precisely and accurately, what everybody who has an account has received, and at the closure of the accounting, each account is balanced, and the balance is transferred to the ledger's account on general salaries.

C. The expense book

Here all expenses concerning the Establishment shall be kept, with exception of salaries, which are kept in the salary book, and also auctions and estate cases, which have a protocol of their own.

In this book the following accounts are recorded:

1 January custom, a column for the receiver of custom, a column for what is given, and a column for the salary price of the gift, in the last [column] all sums up.

2 Custom on His Majesty the King's birthday, accounts showing what everybody has received and the salary price, which will be summed up.

3 Governor-custom, kept under its date as account no.1.

4 Custom for instalments of certain cabuceers and mediators, the account must show month, day and date, what has been taken out of the warehouse, its salary price, and also attached the resolution of the Establishment for the total expenses.

5 Constructions. The account has a column for a) month and date, b) what has been taken out of stock, or bought for immediate use, and its location, c) the price in the cash balance book. The account is summed up.

6 Temporary allowance for servants exempted from work in accordance with the royal resolution of 13 December 1816. The account is kept in the salary book.

7 To the Establishment's messengers, bearers and remidors. Date for destination and departure, what has been expended. The amount in salary price.

8 To foreign messengers. The account is kept as no.7.

9 Palavers concerning the Establishment. Date, palaver's number in the Establishment Protocol, what has been used and the price.

10 Gifts to Negro villages and distinguished Negroes. The date, to whom, the resolution no. in the Establishment Protocol, what has been taken out and the price.

11 Entertainment. To this account is kept what the governor requires according to §43 in this instruction, under date, and what has been spent.

12 Ammunition account. Everything distributed from the stock to the sergeant and the constable, informed by their accounts. Columns for date, the

distributed quantity of gunpowder, inventory and so forth, and also the value; to which are added the accounts of the constable and the sergeant, and which will be examined by the bookkeeper and decided and accounted for by the Establishment. [127]

13 Account for expenses on medicines and inventory for the doctor. Coloumn for month and date, what delivered to the pharmacy or the doctor's dispositions plus the value. Each year, or when leaving service, accounts on everything that is [regarded as] inventory must be reported, which will be revised by the bookkeeper and approved by the Establishment.

14 Materials and inventory, handed out from the stock for use and consumption, if not noted under the accounts 5, 12 and 13.

15 List on consumption or written off inventory of all kind. This account does not have any columns, but checks and written off-orders shall be attached.

16 Expenses concerning free travel home for servants.

17 Expenses for necessary travels in the country on official duty.

18 Cultivation. Here is estimated the purchase of coffee. Date, quantity of the purchased, how much sent out, the price, the stock of coffee.

19 Account for unspecified income. Here the sums are kept that have been saved according to the accounts on the general expenses.

20 Account for unspecified expenses, which are not kept under other accounts.

In addition, it is up to the judgement of the Establishment to add more or other types of accounts to this list, so that the accounts may be clearer and be more in keeping with the intention of this book, which is to record the necessary information in the ledger about all incomes and expenses of the Establishment, which are not to be found in the salary book nor in the auction and estate protocol, so that the ledger indicates the final balance of every account on incomes and expenses.

21 Account for pensioners.

22 Account for deposits.

23 Account for missionaries.

D. *A protocol for auctions and estates*

Here are kept all the correct details concerning auctions, either at the expense of the Establishment or the estate of a departed person, as well as everything concerning the administration of estates. Every auction and every estate has its own account. This protocol shall therefore be kept, so as to give the information, which is needed in the expense book, and a balance on every deceased estate in the ledger, which shall indicate the debt of the estate to the royal treasury and its credit on outstanding salary, or what the royal treasury by the cashier actually has received. It shall also include all the necessary information on the administration of the estate and a final settlement document [*skiftebrev*].

Auction of private accounts other than estates of the deceased, shall not be included in this protocol, which, as a private matter, is granted by the Establishment [128], and decided in accordance with the circumstances and the particular individual involved.

E. The ledger

Shall be arranged like the other previous books, namely that it gives a summary of the accounts of every person, estates of the deceased or expenses, and indicates the general balance of the total income and the total expense of the accounting year, and also that all the outstanding entries with necessary attachments, shall be carried over to the following ledger¹⁵¹.

Finally the bookkeeper writes a general statement on incomes and expenses of the year in accordance with the Instruction of the Board of 7 March 1843.

§42. The bookkeeper keeps his accounts in accordance with the prescribed order for daily records, which are delivered to him each week, according to this instruction. The accounts are closed each year at the end of December. Thus on 1 January a new account starts, and the closed accounts shall within 1 March, unless being fined in accordance with the Chamber's instructions 2nd chapter §3¹⁵², be delivered to the Establishment, in order to ship it home at the earliest convenience with comments, which the Establishment in general or a particular member in particular, may wish to enclose or add.

As a secretary the bookkeeper must also look after the correspondence, keep the protocol of correspondence and all other office work, and also to organize, to keep record and maintain the archives.

As supervisor of auctions and estates, he keeps the auction and estate protocol, registers estates of deceased, makes estimates on their balance due, and issues the estate certificate.

On the letterheads to the Board, time is stated, designation with a short extract of the content. All correspondence to the Establishment shall be copied into its Negotiation Protocol. Letters which are not sent

¹⁵¹ This letter is copied in the Guinean Copy Book 1841-45, page 124-25, with enclosures, page 130-33.

¹⁵² The Regulation of the Chamber Laws [*Cammer-Ræts Ordningen*] 18 March 1720, printed in *Kong Friederich den Fierdes Allernaadigste Forordninger og Aabne Breve fra Aar 1720 til 1721*, 70 – 95, and (slightly changed) in Schou's *Forordninger* II, 306-26

directly shall be as little voluminous and heavy as possible. Each letter to the Board shall only contain one case. Duplicates of voucher shall also be enclosed with the duplicates of letters of [129] the Establishment. The address should include the ship (the name of the ship and the captain) with which the dispatch is sent.

§43. The entertainment of the governor in rum and *panties*-goods shall not exceed 300 Rdl. Guinean courant.

§44. When a servant has stayed 6 years in the country, and his health condition makes a home journey necessary, he is granted free transport home and a $\frac{1}{4}$ year's salary in advance.

§45. All incidental savings in the regulations, contribute to cover unexpected expenses, and are calculated for this use in the account on unexpected expenses in the expense book.

§46. In general, fines shall accrue to the Mulatto treasury fund, according to the resolution of the Establishment.

§47. Mistakes, harming the interests of the royal treasury, rest on the one responsible who has committed the deeds, to pay out either in calculation or against a claim according to the circumstances.

§48. Change of personnel in the warehouse keeper's position does not challenge any other closure of the accounts of the bookkeeper than the cash flow book, which then by comparison with the transfer of business to the successor, will show if the retired has anything to account for or perhaps has anything outstanding. The same applies in case of changes in the positions of the doctor, the sergeant and the constable.

§49. The bookkeeper makes notes in the warehouse keeper's journal of every transaction of income and expense, where and on what page it is entered, besides that the warehouse keeper and the bookkeeper weekly confer on their accounts, so that accounts delivered each Tuesday by the warehouse keeper, within the next Monday are kept in the books of the bookkeeper and conferred on, and then are noted in the Establishment's protocol for the following Tuesday. In case this does not happen, without any reason, the bookkeeper is the first week fined with 1 Rdlr. daily, the second week 2 Rdlr. daily, and the third week the governor undertakes an inquiry into the reason, and, depending on circumstances, the fine will be increased, or someone else will be constituted at the expense of the bookkeeper, until everything is brought in order.

§50. Before registration of estates of the deceased, and the book's

revision and calculations, who the deceased has been related to, and also the drawing up of outstanding credit, it must not be calculated with more than 8 per cent on the value of what the estate [130] really will bring, of which the cashier gets 2 per cent for the collection, otherwise the regulation on estates of 24 October 1832¹⁵³ is observed.

§51. The balance of the deceased's estate, which in reality has been included in the expenses of the Establishment, can within 90 days, pass for payment by the Board in favour of the subject. The Establishment must not become involved in other private transactions other than those permitted by the instructions, unless the Board has given its permission in advance. Reports on payments shall contain information on whether there are or will be drawn any exchange bills or not on the amounts.

Gold, *pjaster* or *boss* can only be received on instructions from the Board, as long as there should, at that time, be any use for one of these currencies by the Establishment. On the contrary, means from deceased's estates, in accordance with the regulation of 24 October 1832, §3, can be received in gold or *pjaster* as a deposit in the royal treasury, so that the Establishment in the most convenient way, at the expense of the respective estates, should send them home for handling by the estate commission.

§52. Two days before they are executed, auctions should be announced by an information bill put up by one of the guards, which should contain the day and time, and general information on what will be on sale. The beginning of the auction shall be announced one hour in advance by a drummer, in the usual way.

§53. When an auction is determined by the Establishment, the bookkeeper shall as auctioneer take care of everything involved, such as registration, announcements, keeping of protocol, bids, calculation and debiting in the salary book, if there was salary payment, and also prepare bills to those entitled to salary or others paying in gold or boss, whose bills are delivered to the warehouse keeper as the debt-collector.

§54. The auction fee is calculated to 8 per cent on movables and 6 per cent on goods, which accrues on the auctioneer, except for 2 per cent, which accrues to the debt-collector, for what he collects.

§55. When payment on auction bills or other claims do not occur in

¹⁵³ This regulation regarding the possessions in Guinea is printed in Schou's *Forordninger for 1832*, 460-64.

time, according to the terms, the debt-collector shall report this to the next Establishment Assembly, so that it may take necessary measures. [131]

§56. The cisterns inside and outside the fort are the responsibility of the governor, and at distribution of water, a non-commissioned officer shall be present, to control that only those so entitled are given water.

§57. The Establishment, in connection with the catechist and the school teacher of the Establishment, or in their absence, the assistant school teacher and a respected Mulatto, take care the functioning of the Mulatto treasury fund and its appropriate use. Duty to the Mulatto treasury fund is charged to all salaried Europeans and Mulattos at the Establishment, according to the following calculation:

The governor, per month	1 Rdl.g.Ct.
Assistants, doctor and catechist, per month - - - -	25 <i>dam</i>
Other servants with an annual salary of more than 200 Rdl.g.Ct., per month	12 ½ -
Servants with an annual salary less than 200, but more than 48 Rdl.g. Ct., per month	6 ¼ -
Soldiers and others, as above, per month	4 -

§58. When neither the catechist nor the school teacher are present, the education of the Mulatto children, is taken care of by the appointed assistant school teacher, who also is responsible for the church singing and the duties of the verger.

§59. The catechist and the school teacher of the Establishment shall with diligence and care lead the education in the fort, and make sure that church service takes place each Sunday.

The school of the Establishment is under the direction of the Establishment in connection with the catechist, or in his absence, the assistant school teacher.

§60. In the absence of the catechist or during long periods of illness, the Establishment shall see to it that church services are conducted in the church of the fort at least every second Sunday.

In that case, the church service will consist of singing of psalms and reading from the pulpit of suitable extracts from the Bible and the church prayer. The reading shall be undertaken by the governor or one of the members of the Council.

There will be taken steps to that a selection of Bible passages and short sermons and also prayers for the various Sundays, will be made available for reading in the church of the fort.

§61. Since measures have been taken so that the catechist of the Establishment is appropriately paid, there will be no offering or other duties to the catechist from the congregation in the future.

§62. The Establishment shall see to that the missionaries [132] enjoy all the protection within the Establishment, which their legal activities and sacred calling might require and have need of. On the other hand it is the duty of the Establishment to watch closely, and to report to the Board, whenever a missionary should interfere in local politics or civil conflicts, and by that, not only exceeds his obligations to act in a reconciling and instructive manner among the Negroes, but also compromises the authority of the Establishment.

§63. The Establishment shall always remember that only through cultivation, through establishment of plantations of tropical products, may the possessions be profitable for the mother country. Consequently any occasion, any circumstance which might lead to that aim, shall be carefully considered and with the greatest effort brought into use.

§64. The Establishment is obliged, each half year, and also as often as it finds it useful, to report to the Board: the status of trade in Guinea, if and how and by what means trading enterprises can be accomplished out from Denmark, with Baltic products and with the resources available to Danes.

§65. The first Tuesday of every month, the governor with two witnesses shall control the stock of the warehouse keeper, of cash, goods, materials, inventory and so forth, and carefully examine the correctness of the stock, and observe if necessary care taken that order and maintenance against harmful animals and the influence of the climate are maintained, and also the use of the materials and the inventory. If there is suspicion of any lack of stock, special investigation shall immediately be initiated, and likewise, any disorder and careless keeping or use shall immediately be criticized.

In the same manner the governor with two witnesses, shall undertake to see if the bookkeeping is completed for the past month, if the necessary copies to the Establishment's journal are completed, and if the correspondence, etc., are attached on the appropriate places, and if the archives are kept in order.

Likewise, the Establishment checks to see if the apothecary is kept in proper order and cleanliness and if the surgical instruments, books, apparatus, etc., according to the inventory list, are all kept appropriately according to their nature, in order and free from being damaged. |133|

Also the inventory of sergeants and constables, as well as buildings and cisterns are looked after by the Establishment.

In addition, the governor can make similar examinations as often as he might wish, either alone or in company with Council members of the Establishment, and it also rests on him as a duty to do this as often as he may fear any lack and disorder.

In the Establishment journal the forthcoming Assembly day of the Council is marked for each occasion; how the examinations have been made and the results.

The special written proofs of the correctness of the examination are attached to the journal. If any lack or disorder has been found, the statement of the subject is attached, and also what the Establishment has to remark in that respect, and what has thereby been done.

§66. In any case which is not mentioned in this instruction, the Establishment shall act according to its best knowledge, in a way that can be defended and answered for and be reported to the Board.

§67. Any future change and appendix to this instruction shall be observed and carefully copied and signed by the Establishment's secretary, for the information.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

Regulations on the expenses for the Guinean Establishment

<i>Europeans:</i>		Rdl.g.Ct.
The governor: Salary	Rdl.g.Ct	2000
Food and entertainment		700
Drinks and gifts	<u>300</u>	3000
1 st assistant		1000
2 nd -		800
Doctor		800

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Catechist and school teacher	800
An officer at the garrison	300

Mulattos:

Assistant school teacher	250
An assistant at the office	<u>250</u>
	7200 134

The salary of the two assistants are determined by the Establishment in relation to the service and diligence of the individuals, so that 250 Rdlr. per year is the highest salary.

An extra assistant for copying	60
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Licensed soldiers :

70 men, soldiers	a 3 Rdl.g.Ct. a month	2520
1 sergeant	- 6 - - - -	72
1 interpreter		
(as well as non-commis.off)	- 5 - - - -	60
7 non-commissioned officers	- 4 - - - -	336
2 drummers and 2 pipers	- 1 ½ - - -	72

To the forts Fredensborg, Kongensten and Prinsensten, to the redoubt Prøvesten and Augustaborg there are sent non-commissioned officers and soldiers from the garrison at Christiansborg, replaced each half year.

In addition to those appointed to the forts on the Lower Coast	
3 non-commissioned officers a 3 Rdl.g. Ct. a month	108
Likewise a soldier to the redoubt Augustaborg	12
Uniforms for the garrison, an average per year	1000
Ammunition and flag	500
Construction, including wages	500
Plantations, including salary for a supervisor	300
Gifts for Negroes and villages	500
Native pensioners	350
Mulatto treasury fund	150

Undefined expenses:

Maintenance of 2 large canoes

Remidors and messengers

Palavers concerning the Establishment

Food for prisoners

Civil servants' home journey

Guards' light

Travels on official duty

410

Foreign messengers

Sum 14,150*Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt***|135| 10 March 1845***Change of governor in the English possessions. Peace in Akuapem. The health situation.**G.J. 84/1845, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 121/1845.*

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 March 1845

According to a bulletin from Cape Coast Castle of 4 March, Governor Hill of the English-Guinean establishments is leaving for England; Doctor James Lilley¹⁵⁴ will function as the governor. Governor Hill is in English Accra today and will leave the Coast tomorrow with the brig *Governor MacLean*, with the hope that he will get an assignment somewhere else, after sacrificing one year of his life to this country.

The military surgeon Hansen came back last week from a three-day stay at Akuapem, where he was called because of the health condition of the wife of Missionary Riis. Everything quiet in Akuapem, only the atmosphere against Ussu town is, as expected, still hostile.

Order and peace prevail around this fort, as well as along the coastline to Volta River.

The health situation is satisfactory, only among the natives a strong Guinean worm-sickness has prevailed. The extreme heat of the season

¹⁵⁴ James Lilly, medical doctor and secretary to the English governor, was interim governor 1845-46.

makes one fear a strong rainy season and the thereby connected climatic effects.

Edw. Carstensen/ George Lutterodt

11 April 1845

Governor Carstensen makes up his mind and changes his view on the Danish possessions in Guinea. So far he has reckoned with their continued existence, but now he considers the possibilities of civilization in the country and an emigration from there. He considers a colony necessary for Denmark, but is of the opinion that Australia is more suitable, and sketches a plan for a colony there.

G.J. 104/1845.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 11 April 1845

The history of the Danish-Guinean Establishment appears to me to be a repetition of expensive attempts to make use of a forbidding [136] country, a result of unsuccessful expectations, a long series of deaths – yet I am fantasizing about plans that are not very expensive but that assume the implementation of the continued maintenance of the Establishment to which, despite its being of no use to the fatherland, its sons have been sent out to their spiritual and bodily ruin.

The sad news which met me at my arrival here last year, in connection with what I previously and especially lately have experienced in this country, make it my sacred duty to declare that I am not capable of resisting the general corruption against obstacles that the best forces and good will of a human being cannot possibly overcome.

If, led by a chimerical hope, I have contributed to the Establishment being retained, then I have also brought a heavy burden on myself. This thought is now pursuing me and will pursue me in time - and the recurrent deaths among the servants sent out will strike me even more severely.

In this state of mind, and with the conviction that everything here will continue as it is and has been for far too long, the following short dissertation has been written, by which it is my thought to create for the government a garden instead of a cemetery, to send out subjects to

life and activity instead of idleness and death¹⁵⁵.

Edw. Carstensen

Nec omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quærendique patriam fuit. Alios excidia urbium suarum, hostilibus armis elapsos, in alienam spoliatis suis expulerunt. Alios domestica seditio removit; alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia, ad exonerandas vires emisit, alios pestilentialaut aut frequens terrarum hiatus aut aliqua intollenranda infelicis soli ejecerunt; quosdam fertilis oræ et in majus laudatæ fama corrumpit; alios alia causa excivit domibus suis.

Seneca

An excessive population is the scourge of its government

Chateaubriand: *Genie du Christ*¹⁵⁶

[137] From the earliest times colonization has been a necessity for the nations. I shall mention the short, but descriptive account by Seneca of the reason for establishing colonies.

It goes approximately like this:

“Not everybody had the same reason for leaving their father country to seek new dwellings. Some were driven out by enemies, and thus being robbed, sent to the unknown. Others [were] removed by the civil wars at home. Others forced by the increasing population to emigrate to the advantage of those who stayed behind. Also plagues, unhealthy climate or poor soil, sent many away. Some were also enticed by the rumour of lovely and fertile stretches of land.”

It is worth noticing how the words of Seneca have conveyed the truth, not alone for the historical period before his time, but also for the following times and up to our days. What a numerous crowd of people did not emigrate from England and France, forced by the bloody religious fighting? How many strong colonists did not the English and the French revolution send out? And how attracted were not the Europeans by the reputation of the fertile and golden richness of America? But today the important aim of colonization is to prevent the population from being

¹⁵⁵ This report is carrying the heading: *Underdanigst p[ro] M[emorie]* [Most humbly for the recollection], and is in the journals described as a thesis.

¹⁵⁶ The attached quotation in latin by Seneca can be found in his “comfort letters” to Helvia, his mother, chapter VI (or VII). The French quotation, after F.R. Chateaubriand: *Le genie du Christianisme*, Paris 1802.

overcrowded. The general necessity and use for colonies do not need any proof of development – an actual, but strong proof is how England by its overpopulation, colonizes the most important and fertile spots on the earth – and France, in the last century deprived of its best colonies, is now trying, carefully watched by England, to extend beyond the mother country. The Nordic countries on the mainland, however, saw the emigrants leave the country, emigrants from Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Germany are lost forces for these countries when they became citizens of a foreign state.

It is the special necessity for Denmark “to obtain a suitable colony for receiving emigrants”, which is here presented. The West Indian islands are trading factories, built on slave labour; the East Indian possessions are factories, of which new trading routes and changed markets have deprived all meaning for Denmark; the Guinean Establishment was factories for [138] the slave trade; this trade has ceased, but nothing has replaced it.

Where Denmark is concerned, of the abovementioned reasons for human emigration, [one] should be emphasized: a present or eventual overpopulation. This reason includes many sad consequences and regrettable effects for the state. It is overpopulation in connection with the climatic conditions, which forces the diligent into poverty, breeds criminals, encourages the discontent and gives them utterance.

One objection might be that since emigration from Denmark is not very frequent, that is proof that it is unnecessary. In any case, this only proves that emigration at the moment does not seem necessary, a necessity which in Denmark will only be recognized by the government when the emigration among its subjects shows the existence of that need.

That only few emigrate from Denmark is easy to explain. Any Dane will keep firmly to his heart everything that is Danish. Those, whose economic condition could afford and make advisable an emigration, prefer a mean, often far too mean existence “at home” instead of possible prosperity among strangers. The poor man on the contrary, has no choice; necessity forces him to endure his life in an idle and useless way of employing his strength and abilities, usually as a burden to his fellow citizens.

Europe has well prospective of a long-lasting peace. Denmark's

prospects of neutrality in case of war are even more favourably. A series of peaceful years would for Denmark, as for more or less for any European state, create a dangerous overpopulation, and as such, make emigration a pressing necessity, if the state, in its very essence, shall not suffer for ignoring that need.

Our humanitarian friends are using work and money to help those most tried by adversity in this world, for improving the depraved youth, for improving children to become strong juveniles and men, etc.; large amounts are used by the state, paid by individuals, voluntarily and forced to the support of the poor. The poor, who are severely tried by overpopulation! And what is the result of the humanitarians' efforts, of the funds of the citizens for the poor, of the relief camps? Year by year the burden will pile up despite everybody's efforts. [139]

If the necessity of a colony of emigration from Denmark is assumed, if not at present, at least sooner or later, we must make the decision that colonization should be set in motion as soon as possible for the very strong reason that, in some few years, Denmark will not be able to obtain a stretch of land suitable for colonization.

If Denmark does not take the opportunity *now*, it will, to judge the situation around the world, *never* get a chance, and in not so many years, the government would be forced to support, by financial sacrifice, the emigration of its subjects to a foreign state or colony. The only place on earth where Denmark still, *but not for long*, might have a hope of establishing a suitable colonization, is Australia and mainly its southwestern part. The climate here is like that in the south of Spain. The extremely sparse, and from nature rather unjustly treated, native population, will not present any obstacles for the settlers

The coast is sufficiently distant from the Malaysian pirates. Admittedly, England has occupied the eastern coast of Australia, locations in the south, west and north are also taken into possession, but England is not usurping the whole continent! England would certainly oppose a greater power, for example France, colonizing Australia, but it would not prevent the lesser, Nordic powers from colonizing and thereby benefiting the abovementioned country.

It is possible, however, that, already now, one would have to initiate to preliminary negotiations with England, in order to gain possession of a territory that might be well-suited to colonization, but because of

proximity to English settlers could not be occupied without necessary formalities.

If the English pretensions in Australia would be so high that Denmark has already come too late to take full part in the colonization, an offer might be brought forward to achieve an aim that would be of such benefit to the successors but that they themselves would be incapable of achieving. *By abandoning the East Indian and Guinean establishments Denmark has means to purchase colonies in Australia and to implement colonization there.* [140]

If a territory is acquired in Australia and is deemed suitable for colonization in accord with those with experience in the country, the establishment of a colony can proceed.

Colonization in Australia now does not present the same difficulties that were connected to it not many years ago. England already owns colonies there that are so flourishing, that a new colony could be provided from them with those objects that are the most difficult to transport from the home country, namely the transportation of the necessary domestic animals, seeds, trees, etc.

The first colonization is arranged, the government provides the future core of settlers, and soon the seed will flourish to a shady tree, underneath which many will seek shelter and shade. The founding colonists will soon be able to receive new emigrants, to provide them with the necessities of life – and the colony is established.

Clearly there are many difficulties, many hardships and losses connected with such an enterprise; but the men and women who decide to embark upon it, will, after having mastered the inconveniences, experience the happiness, of not only having worked for their own well-being, but what is more, of having opened up a broad road where hundreds and hundreds of distressed fellow country men and friends safely can walk along and see themselves participating in an existence free of sorrow.

The government owns the territory of the colony. The founding colonists obtain from the government suitable pieces of land, as property, future colonists, must, however, buy land at a fixed price from the government.

The colony is founded by approximately one hundred men (professionals and farmers), primarily young and married men; the necessary civil servants will be included who will be responsible for

conscientious leadership of the very important enterprise in accordance with the instructions of the government is established.

This is neither the place nor time to go into details of such an undertaking, even before the slightest hope of its realization is harboured; but surely the ability and the will to work out details and to launch the plan in full or in its parts, would not be lacking, when they are asked for by His Majesty the King's grace and will.

Edw. Carstensen

|141|13 May 1845

Since the forts Kongensten and Prinsensten were abandoned, the slave trade is flourishing east of the Volta River. Now measures are being taken against it, and the forts are being repaired to a certain extent. A quarrel with a fetish-priest.

G.J. 135/ 1845, filed under 218/1847; duplicate 159/1845.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 13 May 1845

Since the dismantling of the Lower forts Kongensten and Prinsensten¹⁵⁷, only little is left of the influence, however slight, that the Danish-Guinean Establishment had on the coast east of the Volta River.

It was a great mistake by the Establishment to carry out for the dismantling of the forts. It must have been obvious to anybody, that the inhabitants of the country east of Volta, left to themselves, trusting on the location of the country, would gladly throw themselves into the arms of the Portuguese and other slave traders.

Since the dismantling of the Lower forts, the slave traders had their hands free. They were relieved of, in many respects, a burdensome neighbour; whether it was about trade or non-trade with slaves. Fort Christiansborg, at a distance of a score of miles, was expected to keep an eye on, and work against, a crowd of slave merchants, whose influence,

¹⁵⁷ By a royal resolution of 3 August 1834, the garrisons of Fredensborg, Kongensten and Prinsensten should be reduced to only one person present, who should hoist the flag on festival days and on Sundays, and when ship is passing in the roads. (G.J. 835/1834)

by means of *pjaster* and *doublons*¹⁵⁸, was increased and strengthened daily. Even with the best of intentions this was not possible to accomplish.

The slave trade beyond Volta, however, was found too slight. Eventually among the Negroes themselves, a lot of petty slave trading agents and commissioners were established, who roamed around the country in all directions to bring numerous heads to the market. Thus it came about that a great number of consignments could take place right from Fort Elmina. Usually the slaves are brought to Vay, where a storage place is found. The commissioners and agents have a greater advantage by bringing the goods directly to the export places, for example Adafio or Whydah. Dutch Accra has for a long time been a place of residence for several slave trade agents, namely [142] immigrant Brazilian Negroes, who have connections in Vay and Popo¹⁵⁹.

Three months ago two Negroes were caught in Ningo (Fredensborg), who under the escort of a Brazilian Negro was to be brought to the Lower Coast; but even if one is caught and liberated, hundreds get through without interference.

If it is our aim to fight against the slave trade in the Danish-Guinean possessions, then it is necessary that extensive, but also expensive measures be taken. It is not sufficient that one of the lesser routes for the slave trade is guarded. No! The very main route, Volta River, south and north of Kongensten, must be kept under observation. Fort Kongensten should have a garrison; there at the fort two canoes should be kept in readiness to navigate the river. On the other side of Volta where the slave market is held, Fort Prinsensten has to be repaired. In the lagoons behind the fort, armed canoes should be at the disposal of the garrison. The coastal towns, except Quitta, should not be permitted to keep canoes, as in former times.

Following the difficulties we will find by introducing these measures (for since we do not waste salaries and gifts on the Negroes, how will they find compensation for the losses we inflict on them?), we would have to take [the following] into consideration: should and can Denmark offer help to England in the very expensive and difficult enterprise of forcing the Negro to not to sell his own brother, of forcing upon him a humanity that he does not practice in his own home?

¹⁵⁸ [*Doublon* is a gold coin.]

¹⁵⁹ Popo, a native village on the Slave Coast, almost 299 km east of the estuary of Volta River.

Denmark can apparently only apply great capital to charity for the benefit of foreign countries' children, when her own children can do without it.

It is, however, necessary that a decision about the country beyond Volta be reached. This is a statement that I formerly have taken the liberty to recommend in my most humble suggestion to the distinguished Board. If it is agreed beyond doubt that Denmark is not going to abandon her Guinean possessions, then only so much must be retained that she has the power to rule. The country beyond Volta should therefore be handed over to another nation. If on the contrary it is considered that the Establishment should be sold, then the abovementioned country must not be abandoned [143], as this very country, in the eyes of powerful nations, will increase the value of the Danish-Guinean possessions.

The distinguished Board will learn from the extract of the Council and Negotiation Protocol no. 42 that the former supervisor of Fort Prinsensten, H. Meyer, has been paid, from the magazines of the fort, \$16, 3 Danish flintlocks and 19 *dam boss*. This is the sum that H. Meyer would have to pay according to an old palaver, which back in the time of Governor Lind¹⁶⁰, was paid 40 *cabes boss*. The case has its origin from a silver chain, which was given to one of the King's late villeins for mending, without its being returned. The owner and his descendants are now pursuing the matter, and expenses are added to expenses. Besides this, they have declared a fetish over the Establishment, that lightning shall strike it and the fort. I have let them know that the money they have obtained from H. Meyer, they would have to pay back with interest. The fetish-chief of Augna has, moreover, replied that if the fort will "satisfy" the fetish, which the mentioned plaintiff has approached with 60 Rdlr. g. Ct., then he (the fetish-chief) would get hold of the plaintiff – and chop off his head!

As long as the civil personnel here hardly suffice for the administration of the fort and its surroundings, Prinsensten, which is so far away, cannot be considered. What is done in this respect must be well considered and of a lasting undertaking, and must be dependant on the decision of the distinguished Board, concerning the country on the other side of Volta.

Edw. Carstensen

¹⁶⁰ H.G. Lind, naval officer (1797-1833), interim governor in Guinea 1828-31, governor 1832.

14 May 1845

The private trade on the Gold Coast, salary payments in goods and the competition of English companies.

G.J.134/ 1845; duplicate 156/1845.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 14 May 1845

To the distinguished Board are forwarded the following remarks regarding the Guinean trading forts, a report, in particular, of what I have had in mind, that the Danish-Guinean [144] civil servants be paid in goods, and that a salary increase should be expected by selling the goods.

Year by year the merchants on the Gold Coast have had an insignificant profit on the turnover, but even more difficult conditions were to come!

The greatest trade on the Gold Coast takes place from London and Bristol. The Guinean trade is organized by ships from Bristol, whose captains (commercially trained people) dispose of the goods along the Coast. Only London has permanent agents and commissioners on the Gold Coast, namely the houses of Hutton & Sons and Forster & Smith. The house of Hutton and S., which owns factories in Manchester and has kinsmen in Guinea, is not far from having an actual trading monopoly on the Gold Coast. This circumstance, which certainly would have been regarded as a source of active turnover and great income, strangely enough, was the cause of a life and death competition between the two main agents of Hutton out here, Th. Hutton in Cape Coast Castle and I. Marsmann in English Accra. Wherever Marsmann puts up a factory, Th. Hutton will follow; if Hutton decreases their prices, soon Marsmann's prices will fall; and all the other merchants, large and small, would have to catch up. Since it is the aim of Hutton's agents to purchase the greatest possible quantity of palm-oil, they regard their stock of trading goods, when sold, preferably as a means of collecting enough kauris for the purchase of oil, and it is then particularly and finally on the homebound oil, profit and advantage rest. The natural course of this trading policy would be, that, in time, nobody would be able to compete with the house of Hutton & Sons. This house will

not only destroy its competitors, the low price at which cotton and other goods are being wasted, will in time show that it will destroy the house itself.

The following example will explain the abovementioned statement. Rum is bought from American ships most frequently for 40 cents per 1 gallon and 2 gallons are sold at \$1 or 1 Rdl. g. Ct., depending upon circumstances, so 2 gallons of rum are bought at 80 cents, that is $\frac{4}{5}$ of a *pjaster*, and sold at almost the same [price]! The only advantage of trading in rum, when leakages do not occur, is the profit on the empty barrels. While rum is sold at approximately 7 *dam boss* per pott, the same for the “salaried servant” is $10\frac{1}{2}$ *dam boss*. Thus it follows, that rum from the royal magazines is only taken out when [absolutely] necessary, [145] preferably for (the governor’s) serving to the garrison, and still 17,000 *potter* rum are left! Iron rods, which at my arrival here three years ago were sold at 4, are now sold at 3 Rdl. g. Ct., but the market is so flooded by this commodity that, for example, I have not sold one iron rod for the last five months. The reason that the civil servants are not able to sell is that the soldiers and others, who know better how to catch buyers, must be sold out before the buyers can come further into the fort. Another circumstance which prevents goods from being sold from the royal magazines, is the habit of the traders to give the Negroes who are buying from them, *dash*, i.e. gifts of headscarves, cups, mirrors, knives, pots, etc. Yes, these days, the dash is even sent in advance to the buyers many miles inland, to attract him to the trader! The magazines are not [filled with] well-assorted stocks and cannot take part in the trade as it is now.

The above remarks should be sufficient to show that if this trade situation continues, it will be necessary to prepare for payment to the officials and the servants of this Establishment with objects, by which they can buy themselves the necessities of life, and by this service they should be seen as having been sufficiently paid.

The Establishment will have great difficulties in sending out the usual “list of goods to be dispatched” with a Danish ship in the year 1846. Apart from provisions, which are private orders, such a requisition will necessarily be reduced to what can be saleable of the goods that are sent from Denmark for the consumption of the Establishment. Everything, except iron rods, can be obtained more cheaply from the

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American, Hamburg and English ships passing by. Anyone who can choose between cash and goods from the royal warehouse here, would chose the first; among the latter only iron rods and in an emergency, gunpowder. The arrival of new officials and the thereby following salary payment, will soon deplete the supply of cash, a circumstance, which combined with the non-saleability of the goods, will clearly show what was earlier never dreamt of, that the time has come when one has to take the *pjaster* where it can be found and change it for *boss*, in order to make up for the expenses of the households, instead of, as earlier, selling the goods with, depending upon the circumstances, a 100-300 per cent profit. [146]

The distinguished Board's consideration in regard to the payment of the Establishment's officials and servants, according to the abovementioned, will be a guideline for the Establishment in this matter of such great importance for the civil servants, who look forward to it anxiously.

Edw. Carstensen

21 May 1845

Diseases and deaths create a strained atmosphere. The only comfort is the arrival of newspapers from home; but they often fail to come. Shortage of officials in the English and the Dutch possessions. A quarrelsome English governor.

G.J. 136 /1845; duplicate 158/1845, here after the duplicate.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 21 May 1845

The deadly climatic conditions of this country have again claimed a victim, the first this year. Batallion Surgeon Hansen's wife, departed on 24 April, after 13 days of illness. At the same time, Sgt. Svedstrup suffered a severe attack of ague, is now recovering. Doctor Hansen has for long time been suffering with cold fever, and disease and mental illness have destroyed the constitution of this man, only 9 months after he left Denmark with the strength and courage of youth.

This year seems to be notable beyond many previous [years] regarding

disease and mortality. Soon there will be no Europeans left in English Accra, since most of the merchants are at sea or on their way to England to summon new strength there, only to spend it again on the Coast. In Elmina disease and death have been merciless, of 13 miners sent out to work in the intended gold mines, 10 are dead!

As a result of all the illness and deaths among us, among friends of our own and other nations, the atmosphere among the few who are healthy and those convalescing during in the last three-four months has been dark and sad. The only hope depended upon news from home, on messages of conditions at home. The only, although weak, means we, in this wilderness, have to catch up on [147] what is happening in our father country and the surrounding civilized countries, is the newspapers. The newspapers from Denmark are our only distraction and joy from outside, and they fail to come, again and again. In March the papers for the months of Nov., Dec. and Jan. were expected with certainty; on 20 March a ship left London, its departure was known in advance. We were, therefore, convinced we would see the arrival of papers from the months Nov., Dec., Jan. and Feb.! Our hopes were dashed. The Guinean officials have the distinguished Board to thank that two newspapers are determined to be sent out here, without the expenses being imposed on the officials. This decision would naturally dissuade the officials from subscribing to Danish papers to ensure that they were sent out invariably the first mailing day each month.

The Dutch and the English establishments on the Gold Coast share the fate of the Danish Establishment regarding lack of officials, who are dying faster than they can be sent out, thereby the consequent lack of effort of the administration now and in the future. The Dutch have seen their plans of gold mining destroyed by deaths among the miners; the English are indifferent to the Guinean coast land, while millions of pounds are spent in vain in chasing slave ships in the Gulf of Guinea. The doctor of the English Establishment¹⁶¹ is acting governor of the English possessions, while Governor Hill is staying in England, where he does only little for the benefit of the Coast, which he left, occupied purely with his own personal feuds with almost every Englishman on the Gold Coast.

Since the incidences in Ussu town on 3 February, nothing has

¹⁶¹ James Lilly.

disrupted the complete peace and obedience of the inhabitants. In Akuapem everything is quiet; the inhabitants work on the plantations and are only little concerned with some restless souls among the Negroes of Akropong, who, if it were up to them, would have ruled the whole country.

The question of a cabuceer in Akuapem is still not decided; as long as all the Akuapem towns do not agree on the election of a chief, they will continue, as in the last half year, to be divided, each under their own chief.

Edw. Carstensen

|148| 9 July 1845

West of the Volta River there is peace. Missionary Riis is ill. Health conditions. A rumour is accusing Captain Didriksen of Flensburg of having sold a ship to a slave trader.

G.J.154/1845, filed under 386/1846; duplicate 170/1845.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 9 July 1845

Since the dispatch of the reports of medio May, nothing has disturbed the tranquillity and the peaceful coexistence in the Danish-Guinean Establishment on this side of Volta River. On the other side of Volta there prevails the usual disregard, as in early days, of orders from the Establishment, in respect of which I refer to in my report of 13 May this year.

That the Establishment will ever be able to report to the distinguished Board that tranquillity and peace are also a sign that the Negroes' entry into a civil and religious state has begun to manifest itself, is impossible, as long as the relationship between the Establishment and the Negro tribes is only of a protective nature. The entry into civilization and religion will not take place here by conviction; it must be accompanied by force!

Missionary Riis and his wife have again been subject to bodily suffering, and a journey to Europe is being spoken of as a necessity for

both. In regard to the efforts of the mission for culture and enlightenment in this country Missionary Riis's leave is expected to result in, yet again, an even more regrettable stop, as the progress in this direction is slow, indeed, almost unnoticed, with this people.

The health situation is good at the moment, although death has struck among many of the Europeans in Cape Coast and Accra; in particular the respected Commander Topp at the latter place. The rainy season has been extremely dry so far; nevertheless the temperature for the time being is heavy with humidity, which penetrates the body with a feverish shivering.

In English Accra these days, an American Captain has passed away, who has sold his ship to the known slave trader de Suza in Whydah. In connection with this not unusual traffic, I must repeat a rumour, which accuses [149] Captain Diederiksen, sailing the brig *Atalanta*, Flensburg, carried from Hamburg, of having sold the abovementioned Danish ship to de Suza. In addition the same Diederiksen, and also the house of Effenhausen & Nagel (Hamburg and Sierra Leone) and some others are accused of buying conquered slave ships in Sierra Leone to sell them again to slave traders on the Lower Coast!

On 24 June this year Danish newspapers from November 1844 were received, together with the papers for Dec. 1844 and Jan., Feb. and March 1845.

Edw. Carstensen

5 August 1845

A slave transport is captured near Prinsensten. The Establishment has not sufficient means for the restoration of the fort.

G.J. 165/1845, filed under 218/1847; duplicate 183/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 5 August 1845

From the enclosed attachment A, the distinguished Board will learn that on 17 July this year, Supervisor Hesse¹⁶² in Quitta caught a transport of slaves that was brought to Vay by a Portuguese, to be shipped from

¹⁶² Johan Christoph Hesse, non-commissioned officer, supervisor at Fort Prinsensten.

there. The attachments B, C, D describe events in this matter from the day the slaves were taken, until the Chief of Guard Svedstrup arrived at Quitta and his subsequent return here¹⁶³.

I will allow myself, while referring to the report of 13 May this year, to attach the following remarks [150] to the reported event. The vigilance with which the supervisor, in accordance with my instructions, confronts the slave trade, must lead to a clash with the Portuguese and the inhabitants who are devoted to them. The clash has taken place and the slave traders' money has won the game against a weak fort with a garrison of one man. That the Augna Negroes behaved arbitrarily and only with regard to their own advantage, is a consequence of the independence, which they actually have enjoyed for a number of years. One must clearly realize that the actions of the Augna Negroes must be considered in view of their level of enlightenment and other circumstances, that the relationship of the Establishment to the Negroes here on the Coast to a great extent is like that of a guardian to the ward. If the guardian does nothing to the benefit of the ward, leaves him absolutely to his own devices, one must be aware that the ward will follow his own will, his own interests.

The Establishment cannot take any forceful and sufficient precautions against the slave trade in the actual Augna country, without the restoration of Fort Prinsensten and a garrison there under the command of a European officer. If this had happened, an expedition against the rebels would have ensured a fortunate and lasting result – a necessary condition for forceful measures against Negro tribes.

With its present means and instructions, the Establishment cannot,

¹⁶³ Enclosure A: Hesse reports on 17 July 1845 that he has seized a Portuguese with 45 male and 20 female slaves that were bound for Popo for shipment. This took place with the help of the English Merchant W. R. Hanson and the free Mulattos of Keta town. Enclosure B-C: Hesse and Svedstrup report on 22 July 1845 that the Augna king has requested the reason for the custody. Hesse referred to the governor's order. The Augna king demanded that the prisoners should be released so that the citizens of Way should not seize them. Since Hesse was alone, he had to comply with them. The Portuguese Mora became, however, scared and flew to Popo. The messenger from the Augna king maintained that the Danes had no right to seize slaves when they did not have any war ship at the Coast. Fort Prinsensten is in decay; it has 33 iron cannons, but neither gun carriages nor artillery or ammunition. Svedstrup tells that in Keta there are two parties, one *pro* and one against the fort; the hostile party is the largest.

and dares not, repair and arm Fort Prinsenstein, and from there to demand satisfaction from the Augna Negroes and later to keep these and other slave traders in check, and yet this measure is the only advisable one and of a lasting effect.

It is difficult to estimate with accuracy the expenses of an eventual repair of Fort Prinsenstein. To restore the fallen fortification and living quarters to barely most basic condition would probably cost at least about 5,000 Rdl. g. Ct. To keep a garrison of 20 men and a European commander, would require 3,000 Rdl. g. Ct. per year. It is necessary, as soon as Fort Prinsenstein is manned, for the governor of the Establishment to take an inspection tour there each year, at which time the more important palavers of the past year are judged. In that respect it is more than desirable [151] that the Danish governor could appear for the Negroes from a warship off Fort Prinsenstein, instead of reaching Quitta by land or in a canoe, in both cases in danger of health, yes for his life.

Without the repair of Fort Prinsenstein and a war ship sent out, the Establishment is, and will be, the laughing stock of the slave trading Negroes beyond Volta, and cannot fulfil its duty as a representative of a nation, which speaks vehemently against the slave trade.

The decision of the distinguished Board is most humbly expected, with regard to a question that is truly a matter of life and death for the Establishment.

Edw. Carstensen

5 August 1845

Governor Carstensen is applying for leave for reasons of health.

G.J. 166/1845, filed under 944/1849.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 5 August 1845

Bodily pain, caused either directly by the influence of the climate or indirectly by the effect on my body of mental illness and humiliation, force me most humbly to apply the distinguished Board for His Majesty

the King's gracious permission to take leave of the Guinea Coast for one year, since circumstances call for a change of climate¹⁶⁴.

Edw. Carstensen

19 September 1845

The report of Governor Carstensen of his journey to the plantation Frederiksgave, Akim, Kibi, Akuapem, Akropong, River Volta, Adda (Kongensten) and back along the coast. The Negroes' fetishism. Nature, religion, gold mining in Akim. The scenery along Volta River, its navigability. The decay of Fort Kongensten. After his return to Fort Christiansborg Carstensen suffers an attack of fever.

G.J.187/1846, filed under 11/1847; duplicate 226/1846. |152|

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 19 September 1845

Following the decision of the Establishment of 5 August this year, I set out, on 7 August, on my journey of inspection of the Danish-Guinean possessions. Although the main reason for my journey was an investigation of the gold mines in Akim country, I have from the beginning and to the end of my journey, taken down and remarked carefully any circumstance and object of interest. I shall therefore in this my most humble report follow the sequence of time.

The plantation Frederiksgave

On 7 August I spent time at the plantation, and it was quite sad and discouraging to see the devastating influence the draught this year has had on the vegetation! The coffee plants were standing with drooping, half-dried leaves; the coffee beans that should be ready for harvest now, were consumed by the sun; only some few beans, on the lowest branches of the trees, most of them worm-eaten, were ripe. They are now harvested and the coffee harvest this year does not exceed 10 pounds!

¹⁶⁴ By a royal resolution of 19 November 1845, Governor Carstensen was granted a leave, although, only of extreme necessity, it should be taken advantage of. (G.J. 177/1845).

It is not, however, only the somewhat delicate coffee plants that display such a sight. Several orange trees are already withered, others will be lost if the rain still does not come. It is even sadder that the plantations of the Negroes, which deliver the main crops like magis [maize], yams and cassava, present the same picture of destruction. The total failure of the so called "big" rainy season to come this year, is for the country a perceptive phenomenon; since 20 May (and up to this day) not a single drop of rain has refreshed the coastal land from Accra to beyond Volta. At the foot of the Akuapem mountains and on the very mountains, the situation has been the same. Only the strong dew of the nights and especially in the mornings, not unlike a dusty rain, has hindered a total crop failure there and its regrettable consequences.

Here I find it appropriate to mention a peculiar coincidence. It concerns the superstitious conceptions of our coastal Negroes that when a dreadful murder, a human sacrifice has taken place, the fetish will punish such a deed with failure of rain! The human sacrifice took place in November this year; the heavy rainy season came, but no rain! The yams custom (incorrectly called the "Black New Year") was held in the beginning of this month. It is on this occasion the custom that the Labadi fetish makes a fetish-song, whose contents, written in sand, is sacred and prophetic. This year's fetish-song is mostly about the murderer [153] Sebah-Akim, and the failure of the rain is ascribed to his crime. This is not the first time I have noticed such a peculiar coincidence, which will only contribute to the increase and deepening of the Negroes' belief in fetish superstition.

The journey to Akim

On 9 August, in the morning, I reached the town Mampong in Akuapem. Here the road is divided; to the east it continues towards Akropong and further on, in the northern direction, a steep mountain-road descends to a very wide valley. Here the Akuapems, especially the Akropong Negroes, have many plantations; beyond the valley the heights of the Akim country can be seen.

It is quite difficult to give a reliable geognostic description of this country; the dense forests obstruct all views, any observations; only the walker can form an opinion of the ascending and the descending of the country, and this is only reduced to a restricted area. I believe, however,

that I am not mistaken in the following: the Akuapem mountains form a range of mountains, which uninterrupted at the fairly [same] height, stretches from Sacummo River to the Volta. Thonning's map¹⁶⁵ incorrectly divides this mountain range into separate mountains. It is correct, however, that the Lathe mountain, and also the strangely solitary mountains Krobbo, Shay, Ussudoku and Nojo are separated from the Akuapem range. The Lathe mountain is separated from Akropong by a deep valley, and the other mountains mentioned above, rise from the plains like works of human hands.

The Akuapem range slopes again to the north and becomes a widespread valley. This again interrupted by a continuing row of hills, with the distinctive features that they run in north-west and south-east directions, with gradual slopes to the opposite sides, to the Sacummo and Volta rivers. I made the crossing myself from the east to the west slopes. On the other side of the town Anianjii there is a very winding stream, whose water flows into the Volta River. However, a waterway at Kibi (the residence in Akim) runs in a westerly course to the Sacummo River. According to what I could learn from the natives, the distance from the various waterways to their respective mouths is approximately the same. [154]

In the valley opposite Akuapem, several plantation towns were passed, namely Coofy-Bampo's (a son of the late Akuapem cabuceer Adudanqua). From here the road passed Oboom (Adum's plantation) and some other lesser plantation towns, went past the first plantation town in Akim, Havanti to Apanto, another insignificant plantation town.

After a night partly spent under the open sky, the journey continued on 10 August. After a most strenuous march we reached the town of Cocrantum in the evening at 7:00. Here I first found a nice house, built in the particular manner of the country; a small yard (a long rectangle) surrounded by four wings, each wing containing a room. One wing, approximately 10 feet long and 6 feet wide, was almost completely

¹⁶⁵ P.Thonning's map of the Danish possessions in Guinea, was prepared on the spot in 1802, and edited after Captain Lind's survey of the Volta River from Fotjuka to the estuary in 1828; then after Assistant Herbst's survey in 1837 of the landscape between Christiansborg and Blegusso, as well as after Captain Vidal's estimates of the longitude and latitude in 1838.

open to the yard. The floor was elevated above the ground, about 3 feet. Between the gable and the ceiling, formed by plaited palm tree leaves and the clay wall, there is an opening of half a foot, by which a constant draught of air was maintained. On the opposite wing is a door, of a very small size, and a smaller, elevated room. In the same manner the two other wings also created diminutive dwellings. The clay walls [leading] into the yard were divided into squares, often with adornments (some kind of arabesques), decorated with alternating yellow and red clay, everything extremely clean.

On the 11th and 12th the journey continued. Beyond the town of Anianjii the gold mines started and their necessary neighbours, running water.

The stay at Kibi

On 12th at 1:00 I arrived at Cabuceer Atha's residence in Kibi. The location is lovely. A hill where the forest has been cleared is covered with houses and gardens. The surroundings are hills covered with woods that do not allow a view. I stayed at a house belonging to Atha's brother-in-law, who for a long time has been staying at the Chief War Commissioner Richter's, because of the trade. This house is an exception here, since it is built in the coastal style, i.e. with two storeys. The ground floor is very low, containing storehouses, the first floor [has] a hall and two bedrooms. The facade has a gallery (balcony) with stairs down to the yard, all built in timber and clay. After a quick change, I presented myself to Cabuceer Atha, according to the customs of the country.

Cabuceer Atha was seated in the main street of the town under a big multicoloured umbrella, with his lieutenants and the Elders on both sides; a double row of seated slaves formed a way up to him. [155] Further behind, under a fine umbrella, surrounded by slaves, Atha's mother, the well-known sovereign (Ex-)Regina Dokua was seated. After greeting the lieutenants and the Elders, then the sovereign (Ex-)Regina Dokua and finally the cabuceer himself, I returned to my dwelling. A moment later Atha was announced for a return visit, and his court and followers came in procession. Toasts were proposed, and the visit ended by Atha took his leave with the declaration that if he did not soon take care that my people were presented with gifts of food and drink

(namely pisang and rum), they would believe that he was not capable of anything!

In the evening Atha came with his mother and brother, and made an informal visit. I brought the conversation around to the richness of the country, the production of gold, by saying that I knew how the coastal Negroes earned their riches, in fisheries; how the Akuapems produced their palm-oil, now I wished to know how it was with the gold in Akim. Atha was frank and candid in his answer. It was agreed that a gold mine should be opened in my presence.

The 13th I visited Atha in his residence. It is composed of several houses in the style of the country, and also with individual wings, opened in front, for receiving visitors, judging palavers, etc. One of those was decorated; my travel table had been borrowed and set with glasses and bottles (beer and porter, red wine, madeira, brandy and geneva).

I had a long conversation with Atha about his country and its inhabitants, since after their independence from the Ashantis the population had increased considerably. The Akim country now numbers 97 towns (some consist of only some few houses). Atha keeps his country in good order. His mother, the Regina Dokua's influence is in that respect noticeable and useful. In Akim the fetish does not play the same harmful part in regard to the social relations, as it does at the shore. Atha does not allow any lives to be put in danger because of the fetish or that kind of thing.

I asked Atha if any traces of a new religion were found in the country, namely the Mohammedism, which in Ashanti counts many converts. To this I received the naïve answer, that he had had a slave of that religion, who did nothing but read from morning to evening. He then disclosed that he would, therefore, like to sell him, since he had not bought him to read, but to work. [156] This same slave (the so called Donko-Negro from the interior) was bought here in Ussu town; he speaks and read Arabic and even owns a Koran.

Atha ascribed the modest appearance of the town Kibi to the fear of the Ashantis. As soon as this fear is removed, he will build himself a stone house in the coastal style. The fear of the Ashantis binds the Akim Negroes, as well as all the coastal Negroes of the Gold Coast, to their respective European nations with very strong ties.

Industrial enterprise is insignificant in Akim. It is limited to the production of household utensils: clay pots for water and cooking by the pottery maker, and woodwork by the wood carver. The latter also carves the wooden vessels necessary for the gold digging and panning, and also wooden pails for the removal of water in the gold mines. The clay pots (of all sizes, contain 20 *potter* of water for a half *pott*) are made without any potter's wheel, only by hands, first the lower half, then the upper.

On 14th I went with Atha to a newly opened gold mine about ¼ mile from Kibi.

About gold digging in Akim

At a distance of four-hours before our arrival at Kibi, I saw the first gold diggers. They are all close to a stream, following the path on both sides, making it uncertain and frequently spread out to the sides in great numbers. Any place close to a waterway will be used for gold digging. The Negro digs a round hole of approximately 1 *alen* in diameter vertically down through the alluvial deposit (red, sand-mixed ochre). After digging to a depth of 6 - 10 feet, the diluvial layer is reached, i.e. the layer containing gold. This consists of yellow clay, interspersed with red veins (disintegrated feldspar with iron oxide), much mixed with quartz, usually in small pieces.

When the Negro has reached the gold layer the gold production starts. A wooden vessel is lowered down to the digger, it is filled with minerals, and to to three of these [vessels] are one man's load. The mineral is brought to the nearest waterway, where it is received by a Negress. The mass is then thrown into a big round wooden vessel, with an opening of approx. 1 *alen* in diameter, but with a bottom pointed downwards and thus quite suitable to float and to being turned around in the water. In an instance the clay is dissolved, the loose quartz is thrown into the water; after some dexterous turns, by which [157] the dissolved watery clay will float up to the edge of the vessel. Only a black deposit will remain as the result of the panning, i.e. iron oxide. This will carefully be gathered into a small wooden vessel; if the panning results in bigger pieces of gold, they will soon be collected. To separate the gold dust from the iron oxide, fine dry clay is added. It is all rubbed together and the gold will shine through and be picked out with the patience of a Negro.

I witnessed the abovementioned way of doing this. The content of one panning is approx. \$ ½ in gold. I did not have the gold separated from the iron oxide, but brought it with in the state it was after completed panning, and thus it will be forwarded to the distinguished Board together with a sample of the mineral in the way it is brought out for the panning procedure¹⁶⁶.

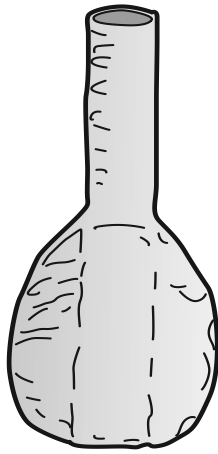
My own observations prove what Cabuceer Atha and others have stated, convincing me that in Akim the gold is found in a shallow depth under the alluvial level. The diluvial level where you find the gold is a mineral layer 10 to 12 feet deep, under which the solid quartz is visible.

I asked if it was not also in this solid quartz that a vein of gold could be found, the answer was negative. In Akim the quartz is never crushed to extract particle of gold. The quartz is thrown away, and in the surrounding clay alone, precious metal might be found.

Big pieces of gold are found from time to time. In that case the finder reports to the cabuceer, and together they dig in the promising area. Here it cannot be a question of following a vein of gold by a [single] pit or a path under the ground. On the contrary, a succession of pits is dug out and thus a rich layer is followed. When the Negro, [digging] through the alluvial ground, has reached the layer containing gold, he will still dig vertically through it, until, as mentioned above, the layer of mixed clay and mineral ends. Then he digs out as much minerals as he dares around him. The remains of a gold pit retain the shape of the figure beneath, in profile. It happens sometimes that the worker is buried when the ground slides down. In that case the pit and the nearby area are not visited again, the fetish has protested against it!

It is clear by the above description that the gold in Akim [158] is found in an extensive, flat layer under the alluvial deposit, and only in the diluvial level. Still I believe that to extract the gold, as it is done in several Russian mining pits in Ural, this can only be done in the manner of the Negroes', in small quantities. In the case of a larger deposit [it can be done by] removing the alluvial layer in a wider circle, and thus expose it for panning of the gold-containing layer.

¹⁶⁶ This sample was later included in the King's mineral collection in Copenhagen. (G.J. 6/1847).



It was impossible for me to form an approximate calculation of the gold production in the Akim country. That its quality is not insignificant is attested by the trade.

The journey from Akims

On 15 August I left Kibi and was accompanied by Atha to the town of Anianji. The distance from Kibi to Akropong was covered in three days. The road, which had the interest of novelty on the way there, was now monotonous and extremely boring. Everywhere only dense forest of towering trees, the relatively small crowns fighting for space in the upper regions, a lot of creepers, green and withered, covered the space between the trunks. Everything [were] green and brown, seldom with a glimpse of the blue sky.

Fallen trees constantly made the road difficult and longer. When coming across those, one had either to creep underneath, jump over them, or to go around the fallen giant of the forest. Not a single flower excites the eye on the long journey. Some wild, unripe pineapples with their astonishing red colours, created the single and rare contrast to the perpetual brownish green.

I stayed in Akropong for 1½ day. I succeeded in initiating a declaration of peace between the Akuapems and the coastal towns that had taken part in the palaver of 3 November 1844.

The Basel Mission here has hardworking and eager delegates; its establishments are a model of order and solicitude; some children

attend school, and their attention is also directed towards the plantation system. [159]

The journey from Akropong to the Volta River

After two hours' walk on the crest of the Akuapem mountains, through the towns of Abren, Dau, Aikuga to Adukrung, we turned at the last mentioned town, and the road went down the Akuapem mountains. Soon a wonderful view is revealed before us, a boundless plain, the foreground of which is filled with the solitary, previously mentioned mountains of Krobo, etc., in the background a the glimpse of Volta River and of the sea.

Along the foot of Akuapem we now went to the Krobo plantation. My visit was because of the first Krobo cabupeer, Olokko Patu, a rich and enterprising man. The Krobo Negroes have their towns on the solid Krobo mountain; their plantations, however, are between this mountain and Akuapem.

The greatest wealth of the Krobos is in the production of palm-oil. Through a big forest of palm-oil trees in the middle of beautiful surroundings of tall, slender palm trees, whose leaves produce a variety of green shady arches, can be seen a few, but spacious mud houses. Between those, in a clearing, is the oil factory. The reddish-yellow nuts are thrown into a hole lined with stones, and here they are crushed with thick sticks, wielded by a circle of Negroes. The crushed pulp is boiled and skimmed; then the operation is finished. Since only the red pulp around the kernel is crushed and boiled, the kernel is left. The latter contains clear, yellow oil, which, however, is seldom exploited, for lack of crushing and pressing facilities.

After a short visit at the second Krobo cabupeer, Odonkuasu, the journey continued, and the day's journey ended at the so-called Krobo lagoon [revier] town, in my opinion, at the Volta River, where some small islands are close to land.

If ever the idea is realized of seeing tropical (colonial) products grown and brought into trade by Negroes in Africa itself, then truly the Akuapem slopes, from Akropong to Volta River, must be the place on the Gold Coast where the experiment could succeed. A corporation with abundant capital would find fertile stretches of land and widespread pastures here. Only half a mile south of Krobo lagoon town, Volta

river is navigable (Governor Lind came this far with a Danish sloop) and the connection to the sea by means of steam ships is a certainty. In connection with the plantations, trade is taking place with the inhabitants of the country, and in a short |160| time the greatest traffic of the Gold Coast will be concentrated at one place, whose advantageous location would make it the emporium [trading center] of the Gold Coast.

This is the pleasant side of the picture, because I also see how illness and death will afflict the European officials, how stoppages and disorder will make their mark on trade. I see the unwillingness of the Negroes to work for the enrichment of the white man. For they cannot see that *by time* riches and well-being will also be shared by them, the industrious ones! I cannot forcefully enough express the conviction, a conviction shared by anyone who for some time has stayed in the land of the Negroes, but Africa will never deliver tropical products, brought forth by the sweat of the brow of her own sons, without the presence of a forceful power.

The journey down the Volta River

On 20 August, in three long, slender canoes, the expedition floated on the narrow arm of the Volta River. The exceptionally shallow water made sailing difficult, until we got out of the narrow river arm, which was filled with stones. The water roared and foamed around us, but our canoe people swiftly avoided the dangerous places, and we found ourselves on the beautiful, broad, friendly Volta River.

I had imagined a river, enclosed on both sides by thick mangrove trees, the islands covered in the same way with growth emanating poisonous vapours. To my surprise the opposite is the case. A small grove of mangrove trees is seen here and there, a favourite residence for several kinds of monkeys, but from our entry into the river (half a mile south of Krobbo lagoon town) to half a mile from Adda (Fort Kongensten) a continuous row of cliffs of sand and clay are seen, changing from 12 to 30 feet of height, usually overgrown more or less with fan palms and shrubs. On the cliffs the watermarks of the river are clearly seen. The difference between the present level to the highest mark on the cliff was about 7 feet. I found the map of Thonning correct in general, as far as I could make it out by means of a bearing compass. After spending one night in the town of Battaa, we continued the sailing the next day

to Adda, and I left Volta River with the wish, that one day it might be appreciated as a means of communication between the inland and the sea, as the artery of life and activity on its banks. |161|

Fort Kongensten and the return to Chief Fort Christiansborg

I spent the night in the ruins of the previous Fort Kongensten. Ruins in Guinea present a more pitiful sight than anywhere else. They alone tell us of the history of the Europeans in this country; perhaps and what is worse, they also give us warnings of the future.

Fort Kongensten consisted of four bastions, connected by walls in a regular square. The western *courtine* supports the residences of the fort. They still have a roof, but windows and doors have disappeared. The north wall (towards the town) has fallen, and with it the adjoining fronts of the corresponding bastions. The parapet is missing in most places.

According to the present state, the forts of Kongensten and Fredensborg must be considered subject to ceaseless and final destruction because of time and weather. Their repair is now just as unnecessary as the repair and maintenance of Fort Prinsenstein must be considered necessary. I was glad to leave the pitiful Kongensten, and after some hours' walk across a low terrain, intersected by swamps and dried-out salty lakes, from where a nasty abominable stench followed us, we reached the sea, and its gentle and humid, but still so cool and fresh breeze.

On 23 August at 5:00 in the morning, I reached Fort Christiansborg. During the following seven days I enjoyed myself that by luck and a good constitution, to have completed a long considered journey. But on 31 August the demon of the Guinea Coast made itself known, a severe bilious fever struck me, and made me a weak and powerless convalescent. In this condition I am writing down these lines, and they will witness more of my good will than of my abilities.

Since I on this journey have covered the road on foot until my return to the plains, I am able to figure the length of the journey, as it follows. It should be noted that the remark "an hour's walk" is estimated by me as at least $\frac{3}{4}$ Danish mile.

From the plantation Frederiksgave to Bosmasch 5 hours walk

" the latter	to Mampong (through Tuttu)	2	"	"	" 162
" "	to Coffy Bampo's plantation	2	"	"	"
" "	to Apanto	1 ¼	"	"	"
" "	to Aguesso	1 ¾	"	"	"
" "	to Confradua	¾	"	"	"
" "	to Quanquadua	1	"	"	"
" "	to Aquanduh	1 ¾	"	"	"
" "	to Cocrantum		3 ½	"	"
" "	to Maase	2	"	"	"
" "	to Anianji	1	"	"	"
" "	to Abuata	1 ¼	"	"	"
" "	to Tette	3 ¼	"	"	"
" "	to Kibi	½	"	"	"

On the return the only deviation on the road:

From Coffy Bampo's plantation directly to Akropong	2	hours
" last mentioned place to 1 st Krobbo plantation	4	"
" " to 2 nd Krobbo plantation	1¾	"
" " to Krobbo lagoon town	1¾	"

Edw. Carstensen

20 September 1845

What hinders a census in Danish Guinea.

G.J. 188/1846

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 September 1845

As a most humble reply to the request of the distinguished Board of 25 February this year: as long as the Danish-Guinean Establishment is not subjected to an orderly organization, a constitution, the natural consequence will be that many arrangements easily undertaken in an organized state, will be an impossibility here. Among these is a census

in the country. The extent of the country, the scattered population at numberless plantations, the trading factories, the Negroes' fear of being counted and seeing themselves registered by the Whites; everything under the present condition creates insurmountable obstacles for a census in this country. The government must therefore stick to the calculation of 27 December 1841. |163| This is expected to be based on such high estimates that still there will be no reason for changing the quoted figures¹⁶⁷.

Edw. Carstensen

30 October 1845

*Proposal for Sergeant Svedstrup's promotion to rank of lieutenant.
G.J. 199/1846, filed under 925/1849; duplicate 238/1846.*

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 30 October 1845

In my report to the distinguished Board of 30 October this year, it is mentioned that Chief of Guard Svedstrup did not accompany me on my expedition to Quitta. The reason for this is that according to the subordinate military rank Svedstrup holds he could not, according to military etiquette, be on board the brig *Ørnen* [The Eagle] during the journey to Quitta, be entertained among the officers on board, even though he is regarded and treated like an officer ashore. To the above, in connection with the good service of Svedstrup from his arrival to the Coast, it is my official duty to propose Sergeant Svedstrup for the rank of lieutenant¹⁶⁸.

Edw. Carstensen

¹⁶⁷ In 1840 the population in Danish Guinea was estimated to 53,000 people (G.J.16/1841).

¹⁶⁸ By a royal resolution of 28 February 1846, J.W. Svedstrup received the rank of second lieutenant (G.J. 247/1846).

30 October 1845

The Danish naval brig Ørnen's visit to the Gold Coast. By its cruise to Keta, it immediately pacifies the Negroes there and in Way.

G.J. 202/1846, filed under 218/1847; duplicate 240/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 30 October 1845

My report of 5 August this year, will have brought to the knowledge of the distinguished Board the events that during the year have brought our situation in the country east of Volta River to a crisis.

The arrival of the Danish naval brig *Ørnen*, its sudden appearance at Quitta has had the result I expected [164], the submission of the Augna Negroes and the abolition of the slave trade factories of the Augna country.

On the 18th the brig *Ørnen* was within sight of the fort, the first naval ship to have shown the Danish flag in these waters for the last 50 years. At about 10 o'clock I was on board. I had decided to ask the commanding officer of the naval brig, Captain Lieut. Krenchel¹⁶⁹, to take me and the military force of Chief Fort Christiansborg to Quitta, the day after his arrival. Since, however, the Capt. Lieut. was not quite well, I found it, when arriving on board, most appropriate not to invite the commander to a tiring disembarkation and a stay ashore of 24 hours. I therefore suggested to the commander that we should get under way towards the east that very evening. Capt. Lieut. Krenchel was quite in agreement with me. In spite of heavy seas, in spite of the unwillingness of the remidors to go on board, since they feared they would be taken along for landing at Quitta, it was with a mixture of persuasion and force that we were able to bring aboard the crew of the canoe that would accompany us, when the brig took off in the evening. In spite of the difficulties of unexpectedly bringing 30 soldiers and 2 3-pound field cannons with ammunition, etc., etc., by the evening, the quick decision met no hindrance. As passenger on board, was Mr.

¹⁶⁹ Hendrich Emil Krenchel, Danish naval officer (1801-64), chief on board the brig *Ørnen* 1845-46 on the journey to Morocco, Guinea and the West Indies. The cruise is mentioned in the thesis by R. Hansen in *Tidsskrift for Søvesen* 1922, 281-331.

Walter Hansen, a merchant in Quitta, whose name is mentioned in my report of 5 August this year¹⁷⁰.

Lack of a fresh sea breeze held us till the 19th in the afternoon, before we had Wai and Quitta in sight. Off Wai a canoe came on board (we did not show any flag). They came alongside. Several came on board. I said to them that they could stay and land the soldiers at Quitta in the evening. They seemed very satisfied with that and with the good treatment on board – actually the Wai Negroes whom we were thinking of as our potential enemies, helped to land some of our soldiers in Quitta. Dusk had already fallen, when the brig weighed anchor outside Prinsensten (the English [165] steamer *Sphinx* was at anchor at the same place). Canoes came out from Quitta, everything there was in good order.

Since, for reasons that I shall report separately to the distinguished Board, did not bring Chief of Guard Svedstrup on this expedition, the commander of the brig allowed one of the officers of the brig to take instructions from me with regard to the installation of the soldiers we had brought with us into the fort at Quitta that very evening. The commander of the brig and I agreed to go ashore the next morning. As a consequence, I gave over to Second Lieutenant Hammer¹⁷¹ the command of the soldiers, and we agreed on what would be needed with regard to the matters ashore.

In the morning, on the 20th, Capt. Lieut. Krenchel and I went ashore. I sent the primary school teacher Christian Holm¹⁷², whom I had brought as interpreter, with 2 soldiers to the King of Augna. Second Lieutenant Hammer came along out of interest for the new sights to be seen, and I considered, as well, it would be advantageous if one of the officers of the brig was able to appear in front of the Augna king.

My message to the Augna king was briefly, that the Augna king shall forbid its subjects to receive White slave traders in his country, to forbid that traders from the country west of Volta River would be disturbed and

¹⁷⁰ Rather mentioned in the attachment.

¹⁷¹ Otto Christian Hammer, Mulatto, Danish naval officer (1822-92), in service on board the brig *Ørnen* during the cruise 1845-46.

¹⁷² Christian Holm, Mulatto, according to Kay *Larsen Personalia and Data*, son of Commander N.C. Holm of Prinsensten, educated in Denmark 1832 and appointed as assistant school teacher to the school at Christiansborg, became interpreter and church singer 1844, dismissed 1848 and died in 1850 at the latest.

plagued in their trade in the Augna country. The Augna king shall make his subjects deliver the necessary fuel for repair of Fort Prinsensten as a fine for the events of July. The same day, in the evening, the messengers returned to Fort Prinsensten. In Augna, in Wai, they had been received in a friendly way. The Augna king accepted the correctness of what was being presented to him.

On 21st in the morning, a messenger from the Augna king confirmed the negotiations of the previous day, brought greetings from the Augna king and the message that if I was going to stay in Quitta for another three days, he would send me a cabrit [long-legged goat] and yams [166] with his Elders. I gave the messenger the answer that my presence was necessary at Ussu, but that I hoped to visit them soon again, and in that case I would come to Augna myself.

I gathered the Elders of the town Quitta, at my arrival at the fort the next day. I assured them that Fort Prinsensten would be manned by a garrison (which actually had been the case since July), that their good behaviour would be appreciated with gifts from the Danish government. The Quitta cabuceer paid homage to the king [of Denmark] in the usual manner.

It was most unexpected for me to see the matters in the country east of Volta, take the abovementioned direction. What has happened must be due solely to the sudden arrival of the Danish warship. It is possible that the submission of the Augnas is not sincere; in that case it is important to bear in mind, again and again, to impress those people through the presence of naval and land forces, and we must put the bastions of Fort Prinsensten into a suitable state.

I relieved the former garrison at Prinsensten and left 8 men behind under the command of Supervisor Christopher Hesse. In order to secure reliable and comprehensive reports from the Augna country, I have temporarily appointed Merchant Walter Hansen in Quitta (his grandfather was a Danish subject) as civilian commander. I gave him the necessary instructions for the collecting of fuel (as fines for the Augnas) and as soon as a sufficient amount of lime is burnt, two or three masons will be sent to Prinsensten to build up the fallen bastions. A new gate will be put up. When the lime is received thus, for next to nothing, the repair of the bastions will cost only a trifle. I have made the decision for these repairs and for the mending of the new gate,

trusting in advance on the approval of the distinguished Board. I have ascertained that the necessary repair of the residences of the fort would be undertaken later without great expenses, but whether these will be undertaken will depend on the decision of the distinguished Board on this matter.

I left them the 3-pound gun-metal cannon and the corresponding gun carriages and ammunition that we brought to Fort Prinsenstein. [167] On 21st in the afternoon, everything was on board again, and at night under sail to Christiansborg.

Edw. Carstensen

1 November 1845

The judgement of a commission on the case of the children sacrificed in Ussu and the following unrest in town. Part of the crew of the naval brig Ørnen have landed, and Sebah-Akim and Adum are taken on board. Governor Christensen is satisfied with the sentence. The commission was supplemented with two men from the Gold Coast.

G.J. 210/1846, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 239/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 1 November 1845

I have hereby the official honour of sending the judgement of the commission in the case against the arrested Sebah-Akim and Adum. As the verdict shows, the sentence was the death penalty. Why I, in accordance with my most gracious privilege, mitigated the punishment to deportation to the West Indies, I have sent a report with the necessary information to the governor general there.

In the few days before the sentence was passed, I heard in Ussu town, where the Elders had been called for the commission, there was much commotion, and it was even said that the relatives of Sebah-Akim wanted to release him by force. Because of the rumours, I felt I had to take the necessary precautions to frustrate any attempts from the Negroes. On that occasion 20 men from the crew of the naval brig *Ørnen*, after appointment with the captain of the brig, were landed.

On the 31st of last month, the verdict was announced to the prisoners

in the yard of the fort, where the soldiers were armed, and also after I had announced the royal mitigation, they were delivered to the crew of the brig and immediately taken on board. This happened without any disturbances, since the Negroes at my request had been removed from the beach, where soldiers from the fort were also stationed. At 11 o'clock the same morning, I announced outside the fort, to the Elders who had gathered there, the final result of the Ussu case, and I also warned them [168] not to commit similar crimes in future. Thus this unpleasant case can be regarded as finally ended in a very satisfying way, since I am convinced that the firmness and seriousness by which this has proceeded, have made an impression on the Negroes. They have uttered not a single complaint about injustice; a complaint, which I am sure, will not come up in the future either.

Since I assume the verdict includes the necessary supplements to my earlier reports, written under unfortunate conditions, I regard it now as superfluous to add more to the case. I will only allow myself to mention that when I ordered the Chief War Commissioners Richter and Lutterodt to attend the commission, this was reasoned after my previously having conferred with the other members of the commission, that I found it was correct to include in the commission a couple of men who were acquainted with the ways and customs of the country, and I dear expect that my measures will be approved by the Board.

Edw. Carstensen

20 November 1845

The artillery of Fort Christiansborg. The lack of offensive weapons. G.J. 211/1846, filed under 681/1849; duplicate 265/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 November 1845

On 2 November this year, I asked Captain Lieutenant Krenchel and First Lieutenant Knudsen¹⁷³ to participate in a survey of the artillery of the fort. The result of this is rendered in the attached.

¹⁷³ Adser Enevold Ludvig Knudsen, naval officer (1809-77), first lieutenant 1841, attended the brig *Ørnen's* cruise in 1845-46.

The fort will with its present artillery give and respond to salutes (although the 3-pound cannons in that respect is too small a calibre). The fort is, in regard to its defence, sufficiently armed for contingencies in times of peace. But on the contrary, if the Negro tribes standing under Danish protection again should be attacked by an old and powerful enemy and try to seek protection within the walls of the fort, [169] the fort would then with its present incomplete armament, not be able to render resistance.

To reinforce the incomplete armament of the fort, 8 12-pounder iron cannons should be sufficient. The ammunition for those could also be used to the 3 mounted 12-pounder gun-metal cannons.

One has chosen the iron cannons because they are cheaper compared with the gun-metal cannons¹⁷⁴, and because of the ease when considering transportation and manoeuvring. Both in regard to economy and manoeuvring, iron gun carriages would here be necessary. It must be mentioned that carriages of iron are not subject to demolition by enemy bullets (i.e. one of the most important objections to their use). The purpose for this is to withstand the climate (something which the wooden ones are not able to) and to endure a continuous firing. Finally, the iron cannons, in spite of the quality in fabrication and the economy, should be exchanged for the gun-metal cannons. Here iron is certainly more endangered by the climate than the gun-metal ones, although forged iron used with care (as on board the war ships), without being attacked by humidity and rust for a long period of time.

In accordance with the above it is recommended to the decision of the distinguished Board, that the artillery of Fort Christiansborg should be completed with the dispatch of 8 12-pounders iron cannons with iron gun carriages.

It is absolutely imperative, at the moment and in the future, that there be available in the fort offensive field artillery adapted to local conditions.

The fort has only as its defence or for attacks in the field, Congreve rockets, which are damaged and, as such, more dangerous to friend than to enemy. The driving gun carriages sent out many years ago,

¹⁷⁴ In the margin some prices have been added with pencil: For 12-pounder iron cannons 290 Rd. each, for gun-metal cannons approx. 1200 Rd. each, for iron carriages 300 a 400 Rd. each (made from oak 166 Rd.)

without considering that their width and volume made them unusable, are now abandoned as rotten. Thus we have only our flintlocks to use against the guns of the Negroes.

For an offensive weapon here to fulfil its intended use in the field, it is sufficient that it is slightly superior to the guns of the Negroes. It is necessary that it is as light and [170] portable as possible, that it can be maintained and ready for use without running expenses. A short, easy and well-constructed 3-pound howitzer combines the mentioned requirements for an offensive weapon in the field for Guinea. It is mounted on a small narrow-gauged, movable gun carriage of quite solid construction, and easy to dismantle.

As far as I am aware, in the naval forces 4-pound howitzers are being used. It should therefore be possible to have two of those mounted on a gun carriage (movable) and sent out here. An important consideration, which made me suggest the dispatch of the 3-pound howitzers, is that the fort is in possession of considerable stock of 3-pound ammunition (3-pound bullets and 3-pound shells). However, together with the dispatch of the 4-pound howitzers, a considerable quantity of 4-pound ammunition must be sent out; whose expenses would be saved by the use of the 3-pound howitzers. It will thus be appropriate to dispatch two 3-pound gun-metal howitzers (with gunpowder chamber) on movable gun carriages. It is not likely that they are found complete (since they are not effective in Europe); but Frederiksværk would be able to deliver them in a short period of time. When manufactured, it must be observed that the artillery should be as light as possible when solidity is taken into consideration, that the calibre should be like a 3-pound gun-metal cannon (i.e. suitable for discharging 3-pound balls; gun cotton [an explosive made of cotton soaked in acids] and shells (3-pound hand grenades)). Also have in mind that it must be able to be carried along by manpower in a country without roads.

I must repeat that it is an inescapable necessity that the fort is in possession of effective field weapons; that 2 howitzers (i.e. 4-pounders with ammunition or 3-pounders without ammunition) are sent out as soon as possible.

I will therefore in accordance with the above, recommend for the approbation of the distinguished Board that at the latest, with the Danish transport ship in 1846, there be sent out to Fort Christiansborg

two 3-pound metal howitzers mounted on movable gun carriages, adapted for the field in Guinea. (The ammunition for this is stored in the fort.¹⁷⁵)

Edw. Carstensen

[171] 20 November 1845

The Governor asks for the King's pardon for the Elders of Ussu town in the case of the sale of five children from Akropong as slaves. The condition of the slave trade is described with reference to the reported case.

G.J. 224/ 1846, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 278/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 November 1845

In order to avoid further unnecessary lengthiness, I refer to the negotiations of the Commission of 25 and 29 October this year, in regard to the slave trade case at Ussu town of 25 November 1844, in which, I, citing the explanation of the Ussu Elders, both of their own behaviour and my position in the matter - which explanations are completely correct, and on which I must especially emphasize that at the request of the Ussu Elders, I promised to recommend them to His Majesty's grace. Thus, it is my petition to the distinguished Board that the Ussu Elders in this case must benefit from His Majesty's grace; that it is recommended that they be exempted from future responsibilities for participating in the slave trade of 25 November 1844¹⁷⁶.

I will now try to describe the situation of the slave trade with regard to the case in question. It is a legal act, based on age-old custom of the country, for a free Negro to sell the villein Negroes belonging to him. The [term] villeins comprises all who are subject to the power of the *pater familias* (children born in matrimony, i.e. with *cassared*¹⁷⁷ woman,

¹⁷⁵ The Board of the General Commission in Copenhagen did in fact approve of sending out two 3-pound howitzers (G.J. 253/1846).

¹⁷⁶ By a royal resolution of 25 February 1846, it was approved that the case against the Elders of Ussu town should be dismissed, and that they should be spared further punishment. The resolution refers to "those Africans under Danish sovereignty". (G.J. 245/1846)

¹⁷⁷ [*Cassare* (literally "to take into one's house") i.e. to marry in accordance with local traditions.]

for whom custom (simulated purchase) has taken place, whereas children born of *uncassared* woman, the children belong to the *pater familias* of the woman; other relatives and “domestic servants”, namely those who without being relatives according to the expression of the country, “belong to the house”, and whom we with an invidious expression, call slaves, thinking of the relation between the White plantation owner and his slave beyond the seas, found here between the master and the servants). The *pater familias* is responsible for the obligations [172] assumed by those under his authority, such as debt, adultery palaver and other cases.

This might be enough to indicate how well-grounded the villein relationship is in the written and unwritten laws of the country. It is striking that there is a similarity in several respects with the statutory requirements of ancient Rome, and finally to explain how lively the inland trade with villeins must have been, when considering that children and relatives are sold to cover the expenses at customs (especially funerals), at palavers that they themselves or others in the family give rise to, etc.; that domestic servants are sold at pleasure, partly when behaving badly, when the sale is advantageous, etc.

Thus the inland slave trade is legal, the only requirement to the vendor is that he must have legal rights to what he sells. He can hardly be expected to inform himself of, and even less answer for, the intentions of the buyer at the final deal.

Where the buyer is concerned, it is generally acknowledged by the Negroes that the Europeans (except for the Portuguese and the Spaniards) will not allow anybody to buy slaves and sell them for export. It is impossible to indicate exactly how this knowledge has penetrated to the Negroes. No official proclamation against slave trade for export is ever known to have been arranged, but surely the Establishment has often through its representatives, especially in case of palavers - which gave the opportunity to bring to mind the instruction §17¹⁷⁸ - informed the Negroes of the illegality of selling slaves for export.

We can thus take it for granted that the law against export of slaves is generally known; the question is the application of it. When a Negro sells a villein to another Negro, he has the law on his side, and he will certainly always explain that he did not know the intentions of the buyer.

¹⁷⁸ The instruction of 30 September 1820, §17: ”The only trade prohibited to the Establishment, is the export of slaves...”

As for the buyer, he will generally be able to plead the purchase with legal intentions, except in the rare cases when it might be proved that he had connections with a slave factory as a commissioner or the like.

Of the abovementioned, applied to the position of the Ussu Elders in the relation to the slave [173] trade case of 1844, it will be seen that the Ussu Negroes did not offend against the prohibition of the export of slaves. They explain it as comprehensible enough – but not very likely – that they did not know the buyer. Thereby they are not to blame in the matter of accusation for taking part in the export slave trade, but their offence was that they sold illegally, i.e. Negroes, whom they knew should be delivered to the fort, but instead were hidden and sold later.

The commission could well have sentenced the Ussu Elders for selling slaves without legal permission, for which even the law of the country would have sentenced them to punishment. But the case is so closely related to the other events of 25 November 1844, that probably with good reason, it was decided to recommend the Ussu Elders to His Majesty's grace for a minor offence, after the main case was decided and judged.

A passage in my account above on the practice of the law of the Negroes against export slavery is confirmed by that the Way Negro who bought the 5 stolen slaves in Ussu town on 29 November 1844, in my presence in Quitta in October this year, proposed a claim of compensation against the Ussu Negroes, saying that he had bought those slaves for his plantation. That buyer is, however, related to the brother-in-law of Mora, a rich Negro in Way, who could be proved to have a slave factory in that town. He will certainly not bring forward again his claim to the Ussus, and if he does, it, too, will fail. The prohibition against the export slave trade is also, as stated above, too easy to elude. The only way to observe it is to close the slave factories and thereby bar the road to infringement of the prohibition.

Edw. Carstensen

20 November 1845

The historic background of the case of the sacrificed children in Ussu. Previously, Ashanti held the sovereignty over the coastal Negroes. Later the coastal Negroes broke away from Ashanti. Before and after that time, the Danes paid dues to the Negro chiefs, which could be regarded as tributes. The territorial rights that Denmark claims to have obtained in Guinea are insignificant. A more detailed explanation is given how Atha, chief of Akim, was humiliated. Missionary Riis has stirred up a quarrel among the chiefs of Akuapem. [174] In the absence of Carstensen, Riis and G. Lutterodt made a raid in Akuapem. The Akuapems' negotiations with Accra ended in shooting and loss of lives. Ussu-Akim was among the killed. Carstensen went up to Akuapem where a series of palavers were held to settle the succession. In the middle of this the sacrifice of the children in Ussu and the moral support of the French ship Le Grenadier for Carstensen. The Europeans help each other against the Negroes. On the importance of punishment.

G.J. 243/1846, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 329/1846, extract 576/1848.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 November 1845

Convinced that a report as faithful and complete as possible of the events concerning the murder case of 25 November 1844, would be welcomed by the distinguished Board, and being conscious that such a faithful account will throw proper light on the discharge of my office, the following is written.

As far back as the Guinean tradition goes, it relates to us that for this coastland and the nearest inland there was a series of powerful tribal chiefs whom the weak had to obey. The Ashantis were the last in this series; with admirable perseverance and effort they continued the fight for the supremacy of the Gold Coast, and they succeeded. Until the year 1826 the Ashantis were the masters of the coastal land from Elmina to Volta, over the mountainous lands of Akuapem and Akim lying between the coast and Ashanti. The European fortified factories

along the Gold Coast had to pay tribute to the Ashanti king. They were subjects of this king's sovereignty. The Danish-Guinean forts were no exceptions. For a great number of years the Ashanti princes had ruled the country on this side of the Volta River, whose inhabitants now fly the Danish flag. The Ashanti king had his orders carried out by his lieutenants in Accra, Ussu, Ningo, in Akuapem and Akim, and from Fort Christiansborg he received a monthly tribute.

Thus was the true relationship of the parties, in spite of the assertions of the Europeans, which sounded good enough in Europe, but in Africa could hardly be realized 10 steps away from the walls of the forts.

It is thus striking when reading the instructions written for the Establishment in the year 1820, that the countries from Ussu to [175] Volta, and also Akuapem, were subjects to Danish territorial rights. Such a statement was easy to write, but the subsequent conflict for many years, and the reason for this conflict between the Ashantis and the Europeans (with Negro allies) showed sufficiently that this right did not exist.

The presumptuous demands of the Ashantis for an increase in the tribute were the reason for this conflict. At the same time as Denmark claimed to have territorial rights over Akuapem, this country was suffering under the yoke of the Ashantis. But at the same time, also the Akuapem's chief, who was liable to taxation from the Ashantis, received payment from Fort Christiansborg. I call it payment, since it is difficult to decide about the nature of it, whether it was salary, tribute or gift. Regarding the Guinean conditions one is always left with the sad conviction that it is not possible to explain to oneself or to others what it is all about. Most information is half or completely in the dark; what is retrieved from the darkness is found mysterious and unexplainable, often understandable enough, but not suitable for rendering upon which to base conclusions.

As long as the slave trade existed in the Danish-Guinean establishments - and actually it existed until the year 1817 - the only consideration was to consolidate the traffic, to expand it. This situation is, I suppose, the actual reason for payment and custom to Negroes and Negro villages, and the distribution of "ridiculous titles", the gifts of flags, etc. Thus, service was provided for us from the tribes thus endowed. Among the ridiculous titles we could, with reason, count that of "Duke", given

to the chief of Akuapem. Still this title has been used officially until 1 March 1843, when I threw away all the tinsel, and had all sorts of kings, princes and dukes who had accounts in the accounting books of the Establishment called in and recorded, without exception, as cabuceer (literally "chief"). I believe I have avoided in all official letters since January 1843, any use of the royal and princely titles, as opposed to the authority of the governor and the actual situation at present.

The Danish forts which were fortified factories as long as the trade flourished, [176] did not gain any new trade after the abolition of the slave trade, nor any new significance. The sums that were given away to Negroes and Negro villages from a commercial point of view, were transformed into salaries, but were actually contributions similar to tributes.

Until the battle of Dudua, on 7 August 1826, the above was valid, but that event crushed the rule of the Ashantis. Helped by the Europeans, the united Fantes, Akims, Akuapems, Aquambuhs and Accras and also the Krobbo Negroes conquered their common enemy, and the Fantes became independent of the Ashanti, but in reality dependent on the English in Cape Coast, just as the other abovementioned tribes became dependent on the Danish Establishment, on whose protection the safety of their country would have to rely for the time being, against possible attacks from the Ashantis. On these grounds, and only on those, can Denmark claim an eventual territorial right. England has not proclaimed any territorial right over the Fante country, on the contrary, lately she has declared not to claim any possession in the country beyond the demarcation lines of the forts. If, however, the situation of this country should offer any commercial advantages, the English would probably not hesitate to follow the opposite principles, and the same procedure is open to Denmark.

The above will sufficiently show the difficult position of the Establishment in these possessions. While the instructions give orders to maintain the territorial rights of the King, nothing is done to justify and observe them. On the contrary, they exist on the lines of the relations between the English and the Fantes, only as a relationship based on protection between the Establishment and the Negro tribes who fly a Danish flag.

I have followed this perception in our relationship with the Negro tribes as the only possible line of conduct for the discharge of my office in Guinea, under the present conditions. When in 1842 I arrived here at the Coast, most of the cabuceers from Akim and the Akuapem were expected down here, the Akim cabuceer to be installed as such by the Establishment; the Akuapems to see the cabuceer succession decided. I mention this occasion to state a fact, which will distinctly show how, three months after my arrival here, I understood the relationship of the Establishment to the Negroes. Atha was installed chief in Akim and saluted as such; [177] then for several days various matters of theft, debts and other palavers were decided. At one of these I asked Atha to send the accused and sentenced Akim Negro down to the fort. In the midst of a numerous gathering Atha dared to say a distinct and short "no". Without a moment's hesitation I let Atha and the whole assembly know that only the protection of the Establishment would save him and his country from the yoke of the Ashantis. For this protection he had to pay with obedience towards the orders of the Establishment for the maintenance of order in the country; that if I had placed him on the stool (installed him) three days ago, I could remove him from it if it became necessary! Every palaver was settled easily after that and without objections, and this year in Akim, I have visited the best of all the cabuceers under Danish flag, that same Atha.

I think the Establishment has so far not gone beyond the authority justified by an actual protectorate over the Negroes. Rather the Establishment has for quite a long time neglected to keep in mind that the essence of a protectorate is the mutual obligation for achieving the aim; from one side the protection, from the other side obligations, on which the protection is contingent; but it is well known that the reciprocity was not present and is still not so. We have paid the Negroes for the right to protect them; since 1 January 1845 we do not pay them any longer, that is true, but still we cannot say that the Negroes are paying us for our protection by obedience! However, it can be worked out in the indicated direction with force and consistency and then the goal will be realized.

The Establishment, by administrating these establishments, cannot take for granted an existing territorial right. To maintain such a right in a populated country assumes measures on the part of the master of

the territory, by which country and subjects, as completely as possible, have to be subordinated by administrative agencies to the propriety rights of the territorial master. Such a right can be argued when time comes, when Guinea is able to compensate the territorial master for the expense of a costly administration. Until then a protectorate will be maintained strictly and correctly. And the aim of the Establishment will be to reconcile, to enlighten, to protect the Negro tribes who are under the Danish protection, to take care that the dignity of Denmark is not offended by unpunished commitment of offences and crimes by the protected people, [178] actions due to ignorance, [but] seen as illegal or incompatible with the nature of the protectorate.

In the year 1842, the cabuceers of Akuapem were assembled at Fort Christiansborg to decide on the question of succession in Akuapem. I will, with regard to this point, keep to the description of the case and the resolution of the Establishment, recorded in the extract of the Council Protocol of 1842, 4 October no.184.

It was the Acting Secretary W. I. Wulff, a civil servant who had 6 years of experience in the Guinean matters, who recorded that case. I cannot enough express the importance of the case no.184. It shows that the question of succession was brought to the decision of the Establishment by the request of the parties, led by the mediation of Ussu town. This took place 4 months after my arrival here at the Coast, and it is only on the Coast itself that the Guinean civil servant, namely the governor, can come to understand the nature of his future assignment.

Ussu-Akim was, for example, in 1842, declared the successor to the Akuapem stool, Adum ate fetish with him, and the friendly relationship between this cabuceer and his eventual successor seemed justified. In 1843 (in April) Missionary Riis came to the Coast; shortly after, he was again in Akuapem.

From now on the relationship between Ussu-Akim to Adum became more and more hostile. During my short absence from the Coast in the year 1844, Missionary Riis and Acting Commander George Lutterodt of Fort Christiansborg, accompanied by 20 soldiers, went on an expedition to Akuapem. The report about this expedition of 14 September 1844, does not justify the necessity of a deviation from the decision of the Council of 14 March 1844, which says, "that if palavers of any importance should occur, their decisions should be delayed until

the return of the governor". This necessity does not seem to be present, when the undertaken expedition again showed up at the abandoned Christiansborg, empty-handed, except for a fine of 200 Rdl. g. Ct., which was imposed on Adum when marching off from Akuapem, a fee, which fine the person concerned surely knew he would not be able to collect. The whole expedition was marked by a partiality for the Akropong Negroes, a view that in the opinion of the fort [179] should not be made evident, at least not at a time when there was a shortage of officials, since illness in the fort made it incumbent upon the commander-in-charge at Christiansborg to temporize as much as possible.

I cannot put the whole blame on Georg Lutterodt on that occasion. Georg Lutterodt let himself be led, and the expedition took place in the spirit of the guide.

Upon my arrival here in October 1844, I made an appointment with Cabuceer Adum and his successor Ussu-Akim to meet here. In November both came to Ussu town. The case as it was considered by the Establishment was, if possible, to reconcile Adum and Ussu-Akim. If not, the situation described above would make the dismissal of Adum necessary.

It has been, based on earlier conditions and more recent customs, a constituted right of the Elders of Ussu town to arrange and mediate in palavers, before they were finally decided upon in the fort. The origin of this poor custom must be sought in the distant past, when the forts were only slave factories, when the Ashantis ruled everywhere, but not in the forts themselves. The palavers were then decided by the Elders of Ussu town without regard to the existence of the fort. As the regard and power of the fort, by exterior influences, eventually increased, thus, also the wilfulness and power of the Ussus in palaver matters decreased. As the Council Protocol of 1842 for 14 October clearly stated, contingent upon my arrival at the Coast the Ussu Negroes had the right to mediate in palavers before they were finally decided upon in the fort. There was, however, much in favour of such mediation, under supervision, in their own cases, in the view of the Negroes, and certainly we must allow this right to the neighbouring towns, Labodei, Tessing and others, without being able to control their practice, as long as we were not able to keep an official in every town.

On 25 November 1844, at 11 o'clock in the morning, some of the Elders of Ussu town came to me and asked for permission to "speak the case" between Adum and Ussu-Akim, before it would be undertaken in the fort on the following day, according to the regulations. I will here refer to my report of 13 January 1845. Thus permission was given which would lead to such a devastating result, but as I had to admit at this time, [180] as so often before, which had not been infringed before. I had no reason, this time more than ever before, to take safety precautions. I could just as little expect the possibility of the daring, murderous attack of the Akuapems, as I could later, in this case, have imagined that scarcely 100 slaves, in full view of the town and the fort, intended to kill me on the beach.

Approximately half an hour after the permission was given, I heard the firing of guns. The non-commissioned officer on guard reported that the people of Ussu Akim were firing in the town. When, some seconds later and with only a sword in my hand, I was outside the gate of the fort, the last Akuapems, even though they could see me, fired their flintlocks at the crowd of people. After shooting, the attackers fled, with Ussu-Akim in the lead. I ran down to the lagoon at the north side of the town, here again the Akuapems fired their guns. The fragments of lead flew around my ears. Now the forces of Ussu town started to appear, and pursued the enemy.

From the lagoon I went to the market place of the town. Here I met a woman with a wide, gaping bullet wound in her chest; an English Accra Negro (a relative of Merchant Bannerman) was lying dead nearby. The women of the town were screaming; the young force was already out in the field eagerly pursuing. I met some old men, among those the cabuceer of the town (it is not correct that the cabuceer reported the event to me in the fort, as stated in the interrogation of the Commission). The cabuceer told me during the confusing uproar that Ussu-Akim had spoken angrily about Ussu town and said that he neither knew the town nor Adum. Upset about this the Ussus declared that he should obey his abuceer Adum, and a quarrel over this started. Some dry blows fell on Ussu Akim and at the same moment his force tumbled forth towards the assembled from the nearby street, fired their guns at the unarmed crowd and fled.

Instead of taking refuge at the fort and trusting on a certain help, it

seems that Ussu-Akim had prepared himself, in such a case, to launch a counter-attack. It is also possible that Ussu-Akim was prevented from fleeing to the fort by his own people's bloody impetuosity and treasonable attack. It is absolutely sure that the attack was meant for Adum. He had left his stool a moment before the shooting, [181] and his stool was hit by several bullets. It is absolutely certain that a criminal attack had taken place, [a possibility] which the most calculating mind could not have suspected.

From the market place, I went to the fort, where I found the garrison assembled. They asked for permission to join the pursuit. I gave them permission. I was under the influence of the events I have described above; I was thinking of the committed murders, of the bloody scenes I had witnessed, of the contempt of the Akuapems towards the fort, and to my own person when I was standing directly opposite them at the lagoon. (I must here remark that to the Negroes the person of the governor had *until then* been somewhat sacred, and had I been hit and killed by the bullets of the Akuapems, this case would have, here and in Denmark, had another and more significant meaning).

I realized that the criminal attack of the Akuapems alone, during which, by a miracle, only three people lost their lives, deserved an unforgettable punishment. That punishment could only be meted out by pursuit, by bloody revenge from the Negroes. If the Akuapems had already reached their mountains, the punishment would be impossible and that situation would most likely cause greater unrest in the country than [would] the fairly bloody actions. I gave the permission for the pursuit on behalf of the fort, acting on the impressions of the moment and sudden impulses.

A year has passed since that event. I have strictly analysed the actions I undertook during the whole case, and I must compliment myself on my procedures.

Under the abovementioned conditions I gave the garrison the order to march, in order, together with the pursuit, to prevent more bloodshed and to bring the prisoners to the fort. The soldiers, however, were so late in leaving that they did not take part in the shooting. Already beyond the Legon mountain (approximately two hours from the fort), the pursuit ended by the fall of Ussu-Akim. The pursuit was so swift that it may be assumed to have been over within two hours

from its beginning in Ussu. This circumstance has an influence on the explanations of the Ussu Elders to the Commission that they came and reported the case to me and received powder, etc. As mentioned above the case was explained to me at the market place in town, but more than an hour later when the town's forces were far away from town and perhaps were firing their last bullets, the Elders of the town came and asked for powder and bullets for the Ussu Negroes. [182] In spite of the most miserable conditions, the Negroes never forget to consider their own benefits. That powder and bullets were a welcome bonus for them.

By evening everybody was back in town, the sad event that happened during that [same] night is sufficiently recorded in the reported interrogations. The same evening 41 imprisoned Akuapem Negroes were in safety in the fort. That I could not save the 7 captured children (of whom 2 were killed and 5 sold) is made clear by the interrogations.

Several days after these events I sent the Akuapem Negroes who had found refuge and safety in the fort, to Akropong. I held back the six most highly esteemed as hostages. The soldier who was appointed to accompany them, notified the Akropong Negroes on my behalf that the murderous attack by their townsmen upon Ussu town, had received their deserved punishment by the Ussu Negroes; that by the mediation of the fort further blood revenge had been hindered, and the prisoners were now being sent back.

It was my intention to let the Akuapem cabuceers who were present to give their vote and opinion with regard to Cabuceer Adum, who was still in Ussu town. But it was necessary that Cabuceer Quafung from Abodée was present. I sent a messenger for him, but he was afraid to come to Ussu. I decided then to go to Abodée myself. On 16 December in the morning, I had Adum called to the fort. I told him that I intended to go to Abodée with the cabuceers and the Akropong Elders present (namely the hostages), to ask for the opinion and the decision of the Akuapems regarding him! [I said] that he in my absence could stay in the fort (where an assistant's room was given to him), since I did not want him to be in the midst of the Ussus in my absence.

On the 17th I was in Abodée; present at the palaver were Quafung, the Akuapem mediator Coffy-Krah (saved from the pursuit), the cabuceers of Mampong, Mamphæ, Tutu and Lathe, and also the Akropong Elders

brought by me. I asked the assemblage if they wanted to have Adum as their cabuceer? After an hour's deliberation, those assembled asked me to return to them. They wanted me to say that Adum should no longer be a cabuceer! I understood completely why they wished to put the responsibility on me, because of the possible consequences of such a verdict. I decided to inform the assembled of my decision that Adum should stay in the fort for half a year; during that time [183] each cabuceer should be responsible for his town. I would soon be back again in Akuapem, and after mature consideration, the installation of a cabuceer could then take place. The satisfaction of those assembled was quite perceptible.

At the end of the meeting the Akuapem mediator Coffy Krah asked if I had heard that two Akropong children had been killed by Sebah-Akim and Adum on 25 November in the evening in Ussu town. I admitted that a loose rumour had reached me about it the day I had left Christiansborg. Then the children, who were sold by the Ussu Negroes, but captured at Fort Kongensten, were brought forward and witnessed that they had seen the bloody deed when they were locked up in the house of Sebah-Akim. From Frederiksgave I sent a letter to the fort with an order to arrest Sebah-Akim. This letter was addressed to the Deputy in Command Georg Lutterodt. He sent a message to Sebah-Akim, who answered that he would not come to the fort before the governor was back from the plantation. The Chief of Guard Svedstrup offered to bring Sebah-Akim to the fort, when he was commanded to with 4 soldiers, but G. Lutterodt was of the opinion that the case could wait until I was back in the fort! When I got back, Sebah-Akim was no longer in Ussu town. If my order had been effectuated, the following strict precautions could have been avoided.

I must here remark that I am convinced that the murder of 25 November was known to several of the civil servants at the fort from the 26 November, but they all kept the case hidden from me.

On 21, 22 and 23 December, I held palavers with Ussu town on the excesses and the murder of 25 November, which have been described in my previous reports and the recorded interrogations. At these palavers the accusation against Adum was presented, and as a consequence, Adum was now taken from his temporary dwelling in the fort in safe custody and locked up in irons. I sentenced Ussu town to deliver the

murderer Sebah-Akim, and to either be fined with 200 Rdl. Guinean courant for participation in the murder case of 25 November, or instead of the fine, to demolish all the houses (the grass-roofed clay houses) from to the circular wall of the fort to the scene of the murder.

Thus I had done my duty. The one murderer Adum, was imprisoned; the other, Sebah-Akim, was handed over to Ussu town, |184// and this town was punished by a meagre fine, when shared by many, for not only having allowed, but having participated in a disgusting crime. It was, however, not enough that I made demands for the delivery of Sebah-Akim and the [payment of] fines from Ussu town. It was incompatible with the dignity of the Establishment to have the case closed or forgotten. My verdict had seen to be carried out. And how did the Ussus intend to pay for what had happened? It was openly declared in town that I would neither have Sebah-Akim in my custody nor the fines in my hands, that if I wanted to have Sebah-Akim, I should try to come and fetch him! I do not have to give grounds for why, in a meeting with some Ussu Elders, in a high level of affect, I rejected their claims in regard to the verdict of the murder case, and as a warning I assured them that if Sebah-Akim was not brought forward, if the fines were not cleared up, I would, even if my life depended on it, bring Sebah-Akim to the fort myself, and a punishment worse than the fines would be visited upon their town! I ended by calling down curses from heaven over the murderer and those who supported him, and without waiting for an answer I left the assemblage. The impression made by my last words was only temporary, even though the Negroes may have been thinking [it was] “almost like being put under to the fetish” by me. The whole of January passed without anybody worrying about the verdict of the fort. On the contrary, Sebah-Akim felt himself so safe in regard to the Ussus, that during the night, after the watch gun at 8:00, he could be found in his own house and in the morning at 5:00 he again hid himself with his relatives in Dutch Accra.

Finally, after a long and embarrassing waiting, I succeeded in achieving my goal. The night between 2 and 3 February Sebah-Akim was imprisoned in the fort! The plan of arresting Sebah-Akim was of *necessity* known only to myself and the Chief of Guard Svedstrup until a hour before midnight, when 6 soldiers from the guard were informed of it. At midnight Chief of Guard Svedstrup with the 6 soldiers went

to Sebah-Akim's house. An ignition torch [*vindlys*¹⁷⁹] was suddenly lit, and the surprised Sebah-Akim was dragged to the fort. A crowd of screaming women gathered immediately, but not quickly enough to hinder my receiving Sebah-Akim in the yard of the fort and order him to be kept in custody in the prison of the fort. In the morning everything was quiet in the town;|185| the wenches had calmed down, the men had been passive during the night.

In the morning at 6:30, a French war ship anchored in the roads. I assume d that on board the ship were my friends from my journey to Senegal and to Brest in the year 1844. In any case, I was looking forward keenly to two-three days of social distraction, which is rare here. At 7:00 I went down to the shore, I was dressed in my uniform coat and without sword. On board the brig *Le Grenadier* I met as presumed my fellow travellers from 1844. I stayed on board a couple of hours, the officers prepared themselves for coming ashore with me, among the entertainment ashore a trip up to the plantation had been agreed upon. We entered the canoe, 5 French officers and my self. To my astonishment I could see when we were approaching the landing place that it was occupied by armed Negroes! From the fort signals were made not to land, on the batteries of the fort soldiers were gathered as spectators! (Chief of Guard Svedstrup could not get any orders from the Deputy in Command Georg Lutterodt, according to him: "because I was not in the fort!"), still there was time to turn in the breakers, when a fishing canoe informed us that it was the people of Sebah-Akim who had gathered at the landing ground to shoot me, and we went on board again. It was, under these circumstances, quite reasonable that Capt. Baudin offered me all the assistance that was in his power. However, when we were on board, we saw the beach occupied by forces from the fort. Again we entered the canoe and in accordance with the wish of Capt. Baudin, we agreed on a signal that would be given in case we needed any assistance.

So, not only had the Ussu Negroes refused to deliver Sebah-Akim, but after harbouring him in town, after scorning and laughing at the Establishment, they allowed a group of about 100 Negroes to come to the town with arms, to gather on the beach in order to commit another

¹⁷⁹ *Vindlys* is a tube made of paper or similar material, filled with fuel, which was handy in windy or wet weather, often used by the artillery.

murder. To be frank, I would not have regretted if, at that moment when I entered the fort, I had ordered all the cannons of the fort to level a charge of grape shot and fire against the quarter *where the armed Negroes still kept themselves!* Yet it was with strictness that I chose to restrain [myself] and left the slaves of Sebah-Akim untouched. But I warned the inhabitants, announcing that I would only fire on the house of Sebah-Akim in order not to put any lives in danger. I set fire to the house of Sebah-Akim, from where the fire spread around in a circle of poor grass roofed clay houses, and later [186] released the town from the fine of 200 Rdl. Guinean courant and further responsibility in the case!

When hearing the fire from the fort, the deputy in command on *Le Grenadier* thought he had to bring the forces ashore, in spite of no flag having been raised. The boats from the war ship were not noticed before they were close to the breakers. As my report of 26 February informed, in detail, the French sailors came ashore – not to help, since help was not needed. They came ashore on my invitation, since they were so close to land. The French were attentive and pleasant towards me when, in the morning, I sailed out to and back from the ship. I could do no less in that respect, so, in the palaver hall of the fort, 50 men were entertained, at my own expense, and they went on board towards 4 o'clock, well satisfied by an unexpected trip ashore.

The presence here of a war ship on 3 February was a lucky coincidence, namely its very presence in the roads, regardless of nationality, was impressive, and possibly had the effect that I did not have to shed blood in Ussu on 3 February this year.

If the presence here of the French war ship on 3 February is seen from a political point of view, there should be no hindrance, in a decent way, to return a friendly foreign power's courtesy under the given circumstances, and to issue instructions urging the governor here to avoid any kind of communication with the French naval military, of which England, if or only with subtlety, might initiate. Since Denmark favours France, it is truly difficult, even if such instructions should have existed, to find that any favour has been given to France on the circumstances of 3 February. I know the English have not attached any significance to the French presence here on 3 February. They see the case from its natural angle that the French anchored here on 3

February by coincidence, that, it could just as well have been an English or American ship whose captain went ashore with me, and whose crew were entertained on shore.

The rumours of the events here on 3 February, quickly reached Cape Coast Castle, but exaggerated and distorted as well. The report was that I had surrendered and was under siege by the Negroes! On the same day Governor Hill sent Lieutenant Anthon to English Accra with 20 men, to come to my assistance. [187]

A local political consideration of all the civilized nations visiting the Guinea Coast is the mutual assistance when the Negro is attacking someone. This regard has loosened French cannon shots against Negro towns that did not respect the English flag waving on a commercial ship. The English have burnt down towns that were looting foreign ships, the Americans assisted the Dutch, the Dutch the Hamburgers. This will finally prove how natural it was here on 3 February, concerning the relations of the brig *Le Grenadier*, to the English, myself and others.

Having presented the principles of the management in Guinea, which I found only poorly established for the conditions here, but which I have sought unceasingly to strengthen and consolidate, on which I have built the responsibilities of my civil service, it still remains to cite to the results of my measures.

The verdict of the Commission in the case of Adum and Sebah-Akim has been given; by the interrogations my reports regarding this case have been confirmed; Adum and Sebah-Akim, as my report from the very beginning has stated, have been deported to the West Indies.

The Elders of Ussu town are found to be guilty and they have come to terms with the punishment that was meted out on the town on 3 February this year.

I will only for a moment occupy myself with the 2nd paragraph of this case, which, for those Europeans not familiar with the circumstances here, includes something of significance - firstly the arrest of Adum, secondly the fire in the town. That the governor without permission and verdict arrests an individual who by the slave traders is called "Duke", might be a source of surprise to the Europeans. But it must here be remembered that the governor only can acknowledge legal Dukes, and legal Dukes do not exist in the Danish-Guinean Establishment.

Chief Adum on the contrary was shown respect until the murderer Adum was thrown into prison. It is generally known that the Negroes,

when fearing war or penalties, bring their few belongings into safety, and then with the flintlock in hand and the patron-belt around the waist, sometimes wait for the fight or run away from the punishment. It is then a regular practice, often exercised by the English and the French warships, to burn down the town, when the inhabitants leave it. One finds only empty houses on which to exercise the penalty, but the Negroes are satisfied to get away with just patching up some damaged clay walls and gathering some grass in the fields for new roofing. The real punishment [188] is in the increased work that they are forced to do, and since work is to the dislike of the Negroes, the punishment is severe enough. And that Ussu town, on 3 February, really deserved a severe punishment is fully acknowledged, if they had succeeded in shooting me on the beach.

Since 25 November 1844, it has been peaceful in Akuapem; since 3 February this year the Ussu Negroes are as submissive as ever. Ussu town has seen that the brig *Ørnen* has carried away the murderer Sebah-Akim, and that if my words last year only sounded like empty threats, then this year they have seen them become a reality - a warning for the future! The family of Sebah-Akim, which by fetish tricks, by bribes and pressure have tried to come to the assistance of the murderer, is silenced; the slaves are obeying another master.

Akuapem is informed, by a soldier appointed by the fort, about the judgement and the deportation of Adum. The answer was without exception that I have judged correctly by sending the men who caused the whole palaver, Sebah-Akim and Adum, out of the country. That the Akuapems were now awaiting me up in the country, with the promise of offering their petition for a new cabuceer.

Thus a case is ended, which was a fight between the fort and the Ussu town, in which the former fought for maintenance by ancient abuses, the latter to achieve dominance over the town. Where Akuapem is concerned, one party met a violent, but deserved, death; the other party was finding in deportation reward for, to be sure, a long list of offences.

Thus a case is ended that in many respects has received mistaken significance in Denmark, a misunderstanding, which I certainly will have to put up with, but which I am looking forward, with confidence, to give an explanation.

Edw. Carstensen

29 November 1845

A rent allowance for Battalion Surgeon Hansen occasions a description of the housing conditions at the fort.

G.J. 214/ 1846, filed under 265/1852; duplicate 268/ 1846. |189|

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 November 1845

On 8 June this year, the Board asked for a statement regarding the reason for Battalion Surgeon Hansen's grant of 6 Rdl. Ct. in rent allowance and on which account this expense has been authorized, to which, on the given occasion, the Establishment could not refuse to remark:

At Fort Christiansborg, originally, flats for 5 civil servants have been arranged. But none of these, with the exception of the governor's, are suitable for a married man, since they all consist of only 2 rather small rooms. Furthermore, one of the flats, because of its highly unhealthy location, is absolutely not fit for a European to live in, and it has usually been the case that when a servant brings a wife, he has to take up dwelling outside the fort. This was also the case for Battalion Surgeon Hansen, who, as the Board is aware of, was married and whose wife accompanied him out here. But since Frederiksberg previously had been brought up to a habitable condition, he moved in there. However, when the unrest started in Ussu town, Hansen considered the isolated location of Frederiksberg less secure to live in, and since the Establishment could not regard this fear as absolutely unreasonable, and no other suitable flat was vacant to offer him, he was granted his request for a rent allowance, that was estimated to 8 *cabes* in goods monthly. Hansen's wife died in the following April, and this expense could perhaps have been saved for a couple of months, but since Hansen, relying on the promise of the Establishment for the rent allowance, had rented for a longer period of time, this was considered unreasonable, as well as taking into account, that if Hansen should move to the fort, we would be lacking facilities for new servants expected in any day. Thus this expense has its authorization in necessity, and there is no doubt that the Board would not alone approve but would also accept that still the expense is kept in the accounts. It should not be overlooked that when the numbered civil servants are complete, in accordance with the abovementioned there

are only dwellings for the governor and three unmarried servants, and if one takes the fifth dwelling into account, it would then be necessary for the chief of guard (Sergeant Svedstrup) to take up residence at the redoubt Prøvesten. That the Board, however, should wish that one of its servants be assigned to an extremely [190] unhealthy dwelling, to be exposed to unavoidable illness, and perhaps death, only because of a saving which in this respect is a fairly insignificant expense, cannot be expected. And since experience has proved it quite unsuitable to have the chief of guard located outside the fort, one has considered to undertake some repair on the buildings, by which, one will have both more and better dwellings, and when this refurbishment has been completed, the expense might be withdrawn.

Edw. Carstensen

*H. Schumacher*¹⁸⁰

*J. Bergenhammer*¹⁸¹

[191] 29 November 1845

Payment of tips to outward-bound officials.

G.J. 217/1846; filed under 357/1846; duplicate 271/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 November 1845

As the Board will experience from case no. 113 in the Council Protocol, I have, in anticipation of approval, given permission that a sum of 100 Rdl. silver should be paid to the newly-arrived civil servants, assistants Schumacher and Bergenhammer, and also to Catechist Mühlenstedt¹⁸², as a compensation for the tips they had to pay at the brig *Ørnen*. Since it was a necessary expense for those mentioned, and the amount was not small, I have, considering that civil servants have a royal assignment of a free passage, not hesitated to make this allowance, as a royal promise should hardly be subjected to any restrictive interpretations, and as long as civil servants in Denmark, in addition to free transportation, are also

¹⁸⁰ Heinrich Andrea Schumacher, assistant in Guinea 1845, died 11 June 1846.

¹⁸¹ Jørgen Bergenhammer, b. 1807, surnummeraire assistant in Guinea 1845, assistant 1846, died 25 November 1846.

¹⁸² Jørgen Erhard Mühlenstedt, b. 1818, catechist in Guinea 1845-50.

entitled to generous travel and subsistence allowances so that they can take care of necessary tips, of which, I hope, the Board will approve of what has been done¹⁸³.

Edw. Carstensen

|191| 29 November 1845

Day allowances for travelling civil servants.

G.J. 219/1846; duplicate 273/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 November 1845

From case no.126 in the Council Protocol, the Board will note that the Establishment has decided that civil servants present here should, when travelling on official assignment, receive travel and substance allowance amounted to a fixed sum, and when presenting this decision for the approval of the Board, one should, as a matter of duty, state the reasons for this decision. Since the instruction of 30 September 1820 includes no regulations of any kind concerning civil servants on official journeys, one can certainly assume that this is based purely on the fact that journeys seldom took place in those days, and not on a principle that civil servants should not receive any allowances. Even more so, such a principle apparently would be in conflict with common practice in Denmark, where all civil servants, yes even court servants in criminal cases, have a travel allowance when embarking on an official journey.

Thus the decision made by the Establishment is based on a common principle in the legislation as well as grounded in local conditions. Here, when setting out on a relatively short journey, it is absolutely necessary not alone to provide for food and beverage for him self, but also to bring along some beverage for those accompanying him and for the Negro towns that are visited. Thus journeys here usually become more expensive than in Denmark, where you have hostels to fall back on. It is obvious that he who is keeping a household cannot neglect it when on a short visit away from home, and if he is not going to suffer

¹⁸³ Upon which, on 21 February, Deputy Garlieb resolved : "Approved with regard to that resolution should be obtained before payment occurs".

a certain loss by fulfilling his official duty, he must certainly have some subsistence allowance. The governor cannot be exempted from this general regulation because he has an allowance for entertainment, since it easily can happen that during his absence, ships or foreigners might arrive at the fort, where a reception is expected although he himself is not present; furthermore, [192] it must be remembered that the entertainment allowance is not ascribed to the governor for covering his travel expenses.

How this previously has been accounted for with regard to official travels, cannot be revealed precisely, since earlier, the Council Protocol was fairly badly kept, and much happened without any information being given. If, however, one wished to take previous times into consideration, one should not forget that a favourable trade earlier made the officials able to enjoy substantial trade, now, they are limited to making a living from their salaries alone, and these are not so generous as to allow for sacrifices, since Guinea is an expensive place to live.

Finally, the Establishment must remark that even though official travels are not frequent, they will now, however, because of the greater influence achieved here, be more frequent than before. Since the case now has come up for negotiations, should the Board find it correct to make a decision on the allowances for all civil servants, the following regulations are recommended for approval, namely: the governor 3 Rdl., the assistants, the doctor and the catechist, each 2 Rdl., the chief of guard, as long as he has no rank, 1 Rdl., but later 2 Rdl., an interpreter 25 *dam*¹⁸⁴.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

29 November 1845

Remission of 8 per cent ullage of the fort's supply of rum during Lutterodt's period as warehouse keeper.

G.J.222/1846, filed under 201/1851; duplicate 276/1846.

¹⁸⁴ To this petition Garlieb resolved on 21 February 1846: "Allowances as suggested, approved as suggested."

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 November 1845

On the transfer of the warehouse stock from the constituted warehouse keeper Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt to co-signatory Assistant Schumacher, there was a deficit on the rum, for which Lutterodt, in accordance with [193] Council Protocol no. 122, stated that he had to follow the Instruction § 44 treating of 8 per cent for ullage, and that 8 per cent should be estimated from the total quantity that was in stock at the time that he, as appointed ad interim, took over the warehouse. Anticipating the approval of the Board the Establishment granted it, and as the case is recommended to the decision of the Board, one should, as a matter of duty, allow a remark. Since the Instruction § 44 admits the warehouse keeper 8 per cent ullage of rum, it is the indisputable opinion of the Establishment that the 8 per cent could only be calculated on the quantity that at any given time is handed out from the warehouse. And when Lutterodt has launched the opinion that this per cent unquestionably should be calculated on the total quantity shipped out - as well as its being a question of a share among several, based on the time they have functioned - should be the general standard, then this opinion should hardly be recommended. But on the other hand it must not be overlooked that all the regulations in the Instruction have as a condition that the quantity of goods required, should be out of the warehouse within approximately 2 years. That has also usually been the case, and when the warehouse during the last 3 to 4 years has been filled with rum, this is because the previous civil servants Dahl¹⁸⁵, Sannom and Wulff found it more accountable to order grain spirits, because they were cheaper than rum and, as such, more saleable to the Negroes.

No objection should be made to this practice, if they had taken precautions that the rum was sold before the grain spirits, but that did not happen, and thus the warehouse during the last years was filled up with rum, which, as the warehouse price is higher than the merchant's, would only find a poor market outside the fort. However, this is not the only disadvantage of this practice, but since the rum is stored for so long, there is not only a considerable ullage, but the barrels have also been so damaged in the humid warehouse, that the newly-appointed

¹⁸⁵ Lucas Dall, Danish interim governor in Guinea from August 1839- May 1842.

warehouse keeper, at the handing over, has strongly protested to that he should be burdened with any responsibility regarding the quantity of the rum, and the men present at the handing over, found this protest reasonable in regard to the poor condition of the barrels. [194] Under these circumstances, and since Lutterodt has been in charge of the warehouse from January 1844 until November this year, approximately 2 years, the Establishment finds it expensive to burden Lutterodt for the total ullage, and is therefore petitioning for a remittance of the 8 per cent of the quantity of rum that was there when he was appointed, which remittance amounts to 1632 potter. The royal treasury will hereby certainly suffer a considerable loss, but it is hoped that this situation will not influence the decision of the Board, especially since the loss is not caused by anybody's failure or negligence on the part of Lutterodt, since the main failure belongs to the previous management.

In regard to the protest submitted by Assistant Schumacher, the Establishment has tried with the few means available, to safeguard the royal treasury against further losses, since one hopes that by time, that Schumacher, when the available means have proved efficient, will take the responsibility, by keeping the regulated 8 per cent on ullage and waste¹⁸⁶.

Finally I, Carstensen, would like to remark that by the regulation § 79, requiring inspection of the warehouse, it has not been possible to take precautions against the mentioned loss, mainly because by frequent measuring of liquid goods, the waste would often cause a considerable loss, and estimating [the contents] by the use of a dipstick [*rudere*] was not possible because the construction of 4 of the large barrels - of which 2 contained about 2000 *potter* – made it impossible to use the dipstick. Furthermore, 4 barrels that were regarded to be in a good condition, proved to be in poor condition.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

¹⁸⁶ The colonial accountancy in Copenhagen found it reasonable, according to a letter of 4 April 1846, that both G. Lutterodt and his successor should be allowed to calculate 8 % ullage each (G.J. 264/1846).

3 December 1845

A new chief is to be elected in Akuapem. In Maclean's time the English influence was increasing, now it is on the wane. The Dutch and [195] the French territories are vegetating. The climate dry, and the health situation good.

G.J. 225/1846; duplicate 279/1

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 3 December 1845

By informing the distinguished Board with the two attachments, the situation in Akuapem, to this date, will be clarified.¹⁸⁷ On Friday 5 December I intend to go to Akropong, most likely there to confirm of the Akuapems' choice of their new cabuceer. The English-Guinean possessions are still waiting for a governor. Maclean is expected daily to replace the acting governor Doctor Lilley, although, until it is decided whether Governor Hill again should be sent out again, only provisionally. In other respects the English possessions are suffering from an extraordinary indifference from the part of the English government, which is even more striking since the possessions only 2 years ago again came under the protection and administration of the government. The English possessions were in a poor condition when they almost 30 years ago were handed over to a management committee. From then on not only did they assert themselves in commercial affairs, but also, especially by the entrepreneurship of Maclean, they maintained political influence in the country. Still, a short period of indifference and half-heartedness, and the government again would have to consider a management committee.

The Dutch-Guinean possessions are vegetating on old roots, while the French-Guinean establishments, beyond Elmina, could not even maintain a weak root in the unrewarding soil.

The health condition of the Establishment is good. Still, unbearable heat and persistent drought burn out the country hereabouts, the

¹⁸⁷ The two enclosures: The governor's order of 25 November 1845 to Chief of Guard Svedstrup to go to Akuapem to learn whom they want as their chief and the chief of guard's report of 30 November same year, that they would prefer Ohinne Kumma.

cisterns will soon be empty, and if the drought continues for another 6-8 weeks, we may be forced to undertake a temporary, but expensive, move to the plantation, where, happily, there are heavy showers almost daily.

The brig *Ørnen* left the Guinea Coast on 4 November in the morning after an 18-day stay on the Coast. At its departure there were no ill persons on board.

Edw. Carstensen

[196] 13 January 1846

Proposal to cease sending duplicates of the reports.

G.J. 286/1846; duplicate 39/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 13 January 1846

As is known to the Board, it has been the practice until now, both by the Board and the Establishment, to send duplicates of all letters dispatched to each other. But since both the Board and the accountants have frequently ordered the Establishment to practise very strict economy when forwarding mail parcels from here, we take the liberty of suggesting that duplicates from here in the future should cease, by which the mail parcels should in general become considerably smaller.

Most letters sent from Guinea are usually sent by English ships, of which very few in general are shipwrecked, but should this occur, we are immediately informed about such an accident and would be able to forward the duplicates, as a complete copybook is kept. But in the most unlikely event that the Establishment should not be made aware that a parcel had disappeared, the Board would always notice this by the consecutive numbers contained in all letters coming from here, and then on request the duplicates could be forwarded. This change might result in the Board, perhaps in some cases, having to do without one or two reports for a longer time, but the Establishment does not believe that this possibility will occur, when it is a question of saving of approximately half the cost in postage and a not insignificant volume of writing. In spite of cessation of sending duplicates, as suggested above, yet it is a matter of course that the Establishment should be both entitled and obliged to send duplicates of any letters that are seen to be of particular importance and interest¹⁸⁸.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

¹⁸⁸ To this petition, on 30 April 1846, the Board resolved: "Duplicates should still be dispatched".

[197] 13 January 1846

Remarks concerning accounts rendered after the visit of the brig Ørnen at the Coast.

G.J. 287/1846, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 40/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 13 January 1846

Hereby the Establishment, in the line of duty, has the honour to dispatch an account of the expenses incurred by the presence of the brig *Ørnen* here at the Coast, and at the same time [the expenses of] the journey undertaken to Quetta or Prinsensten; [the combination] of which amounts to a total of 292 Rdl. 48 *dam* g. Ct.

Some of these expenses, as shown in the account, are occasioned by the case against Sebah-Akim and Adum, which must be regarded as completely accidental, and as such, not to be repeated whenever a warship should again be visiting the Coast. It is the same situation with the trip to Quetta, which might be repeated, but it should not be necessary to bring soldiers and remidors from the fort, and the considerable expenses connected to that could then be saved.

The scarce provisions which were supplied to the crew of the brig would not amount to any considerable sum, particularly since, according to the knowledge of the Establishment, almost all goods were purchased from the local warehouse, and it is at that purchase that Captain Krenchel has forgotten to pay for 3 iron rods mentioned in the list.

With regard to the 43 *potter* of rum which Captain Lieutenant Krenchel requested for delivery to the Ussu Elders and the garrison when seeing him off, the Establishment would have to ask the Board whether this should be borne by the Establishment or the payment should be refunded by the one who ordered it.

The poultry listed at the end of the account, after a verbal request by Captain Lieutenant Krenchel to me, Carstensen, was ordered on board by me and as such paid for by me. Since Mr. Krenchel has not with a word mentioned this delivery, I am ignorant of for what purpose it is requested, but as far as one or another expense [198] in the captain's

CLOSING THE BOOKS

account is concerned with this, I ask to have the amount refunded by an arrangement by the Board. If Captain Lieutenant Krenchel should regard this delivery as a private matter, I would certainly not burden the Board with this matter any further, but would prefer, in that case, to present it to Mr. Krenchel as a gift, which certainly was my intention - and Krenchel's complete silence about the matter hindered me from mentioning it to him. But I ask that he be informed, so that he should not be embarrassed by this debt.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

13 January 1846

This year, too, a warship is requested to visit the Coast. Otherwise the Negro tribes might think that the last one was chartered.

G.J. 288/1846, filed under 921/1849; duplicate 41/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 13 January 1846

In the reports the Establishment sent to the Board at the beginning of last year, namely about the disputes between Ussu and Akuapem and the slave trade at Popo, we took the liberty of forwarding a request that a Danish warship should be forwarded to the Coast. This request was, so to speak, based on necessity and in fact was granted. We now venture, therefore, in the course of duty, to request the Board to consider that also this year a warship bound for the West Indies should call at the Coast.

The conditions here have for some changed for the better, but for this to continue it is absolutely necessary that the Negro tribes, by their own experience, are convinced that Denmark possesses the power to exercise the sovereignty she has obtained. But this conviction cannot be held by the Negroes, naturally, because now for the first time in their lives, they have seen a Danish warship, while each year they can see several French, English and American warships. That a Danish merchant ship, once [199] every second year, arrives at the Coast in the

service of the King, can, naturally, not convey to the Negro any idea of the power of Denmark. Yet, it is purely by maintaining the belief in that distant power which has enabled the Establishment here to obtain considerable influence over the powerful tribes.

The Establishment does not consider itself competent to have any reasoned opinion on the expenses that will be occasioned by a ship bound for the West Indies should call at the Coast, but it does not even consider it appropriate to have that knowledge, since it is convinced that as long as the government keeps its possessions here, it must, also as a matter of course, accept the cost that is a consequence of that possession, and that the dispatch of a warship at least during the first years should be regarded as absolutely necessary, of that the Establishment is absolutely convinced.

During a conversation that I, Carstensen, had with the chief of the brig *Ørnen*, I mentioned among other things, that if a warship was not sent out soon, the Negro tribes might get the idea that Denmark had chartered the ship from another nation. And even though this opinion is only a supposition, it is based on my knowledge of the ways of thinking among the Negro tribes, since it must be remembered that the Negroes' opinion of European relations are mostly based on what they see in their own country, where such a charter would not be unlikely. If this conclusion should really take hold among the Negroes, and a Danish warship did not appear soon, then it is obvious that fear of the power of Denmark would vanish completely and the situation of the Establishment would be very unstable. Then the expense of winning back the lost sovereignty would soon prove to be more considerable than what is needed to keep, and even justify, that now achieved¹⁸⁹.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

¹⁸⁹ The Admiralty really let the brig *Mercurius* call at Guinea on her way to the West Indies (G.J. 301, 353, 366/1846).

CLOSING THE BOOKS

13 January 1846

A loan has been raised, and there is a wish that the money should be sent out, especially in Mexican pjaster.

G.J. 289/1846, filed under 99/1850; duplicate 42/1847. [200]

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 13 January 1846.

On 6 November last year the Establishment took the liberty of informing the Board that it had been forced to raise a loan of \$2,000 and therefore authorized a bill of exchange. Since the warehouse for the time being is only partly stocked and has for long time been severely lacking in *boss*, there has often been a demand for *pjaster*. And it is reasonable that the mentioned amount soon should be paid. That is why, in the course of duty, we take the liberty of asking for a sum of nearly \$5,000 to be dispatched with the ship that is due to come to the Coast during this year. Here on the Coast there is no difference in [the value of] *pjaster*, but all are rated to 1 Rdl. 10 *dam* g. Ct. each. This is, as far as the Establishment is concerned, not the situation in the European trading posts, where namely the Spanish (*pille*) *pjaster* always has higher rates than the Mexican and presumably also other South American *pjaster*. We permit ourselves to draw the attention of the Board to the fact that it might be expedient to buy Mexican *pjaster* in Copenhagen or Hamburg and send only those, or others with similar rates, although not 5 francs which here are only exchanged for 1 Rdl. g. Cour.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

22 January 1846

Deliberations as to whether the slaves of the fort should be liberated. They are only employed on repairs of the fort, and their keep is so expensive that hired labour would be cheaper. So a proposal is made for their liberation. Nevertheless, it would still be necessary to support the old slaves. Some might find employment on the plantation Frederiksgave. In course of the

year repairs on the fort will be completed, and for the present it will not need major repairs.

G.J. 291/1846, filed under 43/1850.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 January 1846

In the beginning of last year, the Establishment at the time made a proposition to the Board regarding changes in the Instruction of 30 September 1820 [201], where, among other things, it made a petition that no more villeins should be provided, but with time, they should be completely abolished. The question regarding the villeins has again been brought up, and after serious considerations, the Establishment is of the conviction that it would be most suitable and cheapest to free the villeins immediately, thus, in the course of duty, we take the liberty of petitioning the Board on this issue.

The purchase of the villeins goes back to a distant past, when the slave trade was carried out here at the Coast at royal expense. But when it ceased, presumably it was regarded as useful to keep some of the slaves in the fort for various types of work. The number, as the slaves passed away, was supplemented by purchase¹⁹⁰ and births. The present slaves or villeins are partly craftsmen and labourers, and a few remidors, who are also used as craftsmen and labourers. Since they are only kept for the service of the fort, they usually only work as such, and the expenses caused by their keep and clothing, etc., should as a matter of fact, be recorded as an expense for the maintenance of the fort or the forts. The number of remidors is not sufficient to man a canoe to be sent out to a ship in the roads. For this reason we always have to hire people. This is also the case when a servant is travelling up in the country, when often a great number of the villeins are always taken ill. As mentioned above, therefore, they are only used as workers on the repair of Fort Christiansborg and the redoubt Prøvesten, since usually we have no other work to offer them.

As the Board will see from the accounts, the cost of the villeins in

¹⁹⁰ Here is an official statement indicating that in Africa they really did not observe the regulation of 16 March 1792, "With the beginning of year 1803 all the royal civil servants' Negro trade should cease on the African coasts..."

1842 is 1,528 Rdl. g. Ct.; and in 1843 (for which the account only comprises 10 months from 1 March to the end of December) 1,331 Rdl. g. Ct., in 1844, 1,643 Rdl. and in 1845, 1,212 Rdl., and when taking into consideration that these, in no way unsubstantial amounts of money, are paid only as salaries for the maintenance of Christiansborg and Prøvesten [202], it will be abundantly clear how costly this section is. And still, to make clear the cost of the wages, the interests of the mentioned amount must be added, which according to an average estimate will amount to 189 Rdl. g. Ct. per annum. That the difference in the cost of the villeins in 1844 and 1845 is so substantial, is due to the fact that the co-signatory Carstensen, in the beginning of last year, reduced the salaries substantially, but a greater reduction than what has been undertaken, should not be expected, so the quoted amount for 1845 should be regarded as a minimum for the cost of the villeins to the royal treasury.

If you take the smallest of the abovementioned amounts, 1,212 Rdl., and add the interest of 189 Rdl., then add the two sums to the amount that according to the expense book has been spent on materials and working tools for the maintenance of Christiansborg and Prøvesten namely 637 Rdl., then you have the cost that the two buildings in 1845 have burdened the royal treasury for maintenance, the sum of 2038 Rdl. g. Cour. or 3,762 Rbd. silver; which is approximately 1/15 of what is estimated for the builders at Christiansborg Castle.

That the extent of this cost is in no reasonable proportion to the necessary maintenance of the buildings, or to the work that has been done, need no further evidence, although the expenses in the previous years have been more substantial.

For the salaries the villeins receive, they only perform work. Materials and working tools are handed out to them by the fort, and it is therefore quite in accordance with the way of thinking of the Negroes, neither to save one thing or the other, but still when the opportunity arises, to try to get hold of whatever they can, and even the best of supervision cannot prevent this from happening, especially since it is impossible for the official in question to keep more than a general watch, while the more special supervision must be delegated to a completely subordinate servant, whose loyalty, in general, is poor.

To keep the villeins would not only occasion exceedingly high

salaries and an irresponsible waste of material and tools, but also forces the Establishment [203] for the purpose of employing the villeins, to undertake tasks, which, though not without benefit are absolutely unnecessary. Since it is presumed now that by the end of the year the fort should be completely renovated, and in the future that would be the situation if the villeins should not be left completely idle.

Thus, while the Establishment feels it has indicated fully the economic reasons for the dismissal of the villeins, [the fact] should not be ignored that, even though these people are called villeins, they are actually slaves, like the Negroes, and subject to the same conditions. But in these days when everything speaks of emancipation of the slaves, this would probably not be tune in with the wishes of the government - the possibility of being described in public as slave owners. By discharging the villeins, an income of 4-5,000 Rdl. Cour. would be removed from the accounts, but it must not be forgotten that this income only exists in the account and is almost completely nominal, while the royal treasury would have a real income by saving the expenses on salaries.

However, the Establishment would not fail to note that in the first years the complete expense for wages would not be saved, because among the villeins there are several that are so old and weak that they no longer can earn a living, and for those, freedom would not be any advantage. They should in future certainly be taken care of by the fort, by, as far as they are capable, working for it, although not in general as craftsmen. Perhaps, also, some of the villeins could be used at the plantation Frederiksgave, where the public cost of the Negroes is a *pantje* each per annum, and thus would contribute fully by working 3 days a week on the plantation, while having the remaining time for their own use.

If asked how the Establishment in future should function in regard to the maintenance workers, when the villeins have been dismissed, then it is the opinion these days to do as the English, namely to contract the construction workers, and by that obtain much better conditions. Thus the Board could experience that, at present, a private entrepreneur is undertaking to build for a European a two storey house with foundation walls [204], with warehouse facilities on the ground floor and 3 rooms on the upper floor, for the total sum of 500 Rdl. g. Ct. If, however, such contracting would not bring the expected results, then one could

have all the maintenance work undertaken by hired people, whose payment in no way would amount to the present cost of maintenance, and the work would be just as reliable as that of the villeins. If one or the other of the suggested methods should be followed, Establishment is convinced that one can have both interior and exterior repairs and the whitewashing of the forts undertaken for a sum of, at the most, 500 Rdl. g. Ct.; and if the other repairs are estimated to 200 Rdl. g. Ct. per annum, then there will be an annual saving of more than 1,300 Rdl. g. Ct. Certainly, under the mentioned amounts, the main refurbishments are not included, but they are not undertaken each year, and there will always be, from 1300 Rdl. saved, more than the necessary amounts, in the course of time, to undertake any necessary refurbishment. We take the liberty on this occasion to suggest to the Board that it might be suitable to decide that in future any main refurbishment, additions or changes to the premises, should be presented for approval by the Board, before they are started.

It is natural that everyone tries to have his flat arranged according to his individual idea of comfort, when it is achieved by only ordering it so, but that this would not always comply with the situation of the royal treasury needs no proof. Fort Christiansborg, as earlier mentioned, will, in the course of the year, undergo such extensive refurbishment that it is not likely to be necessary in the following years, and by a newly begun refurbishment there will be 5 proper flats in addition to the governor's residence, of which four flats consist of two rooms and the fifth of three. Thus we have flats for all the unmarried officials of the fort, and there should probably not be any reason for making new extensions.

In accordance with the abovementioned, the Establishment takes the liberty as a matter of duty to propose that by the end of the year, there should be an authorization to free the villeins or slaves belonging to Fort Christiansborg, with the exception of those that might be suitable for the plantation Frederiksgave, [205] and also those who because of age and weakness are not able to acquire the essentials necessary to life¹⁹¹.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

¹⁹¹ On 30 April 1846 in Copenhagen, it was decided to temporary postpone the release of the slaves.

22 January 1846

It has been questioned how the management of the Establishment should be carried out during the absence of Carstensen. Lutterodt is regarded as unsuitable for a temporary governorship. Thus a request for a principal to be sent out, in order, if it should be required, to take over the position of governor.

G.J. 292/1846, filed under 340/ 1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 January 1846

Since for several necessary reasons the co-signatory Carstensen has been obliged to apply for permission to leave the possessions for a couple of years, it has, of course, forced the Establishment to consider how this situation should be managed. Under the most fortunate circumstances next year there should only be 2 servants present except for the doctor and the catechist. Of the two, the one in charge of the warehouse should have to take over the governor's affairs, and the position of warehouse keeper or bookkeeper would have to be taken over by the other. That the latter could not or should not function as governor is probably because with a combination of the two the control of the business that is so important at this distant place, would be totally lacking, as well as the fact there is a fair chance that the functioning governor would lack time and opportunity to keep up fully with the two positions. As a result of this, it would be necessary to appoint a third party.

As regards the third party, the Establishment would have to choose between the doctor, the catechist and the Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt. The Establishment, in every respect, regards the doctor as unsuitable for keeping either the warehouse or the bookkeeping, and if not to the same extent could be, said of the catechist, it would be quite incompatible with the functions of this civil servant [206] in the church and the school, to entrust him a position of the nature of warehouse keeping or bookkeeping. Nor can it be assumed, that this young man would be able to acquire the capability that is required to manage affairs that are so completely different from what he previously has been doing.

Then we are left with Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt, but the

Establishment cannot fail to remark that the frequent appointments of this man have not had any beneficial influence on the management of the Establishment. It is regarded as unnecessary to go into details about the past, but only to draw the attention of the Board to the fact that Lutterodt is a merchant, and a natural consequence of that is that his private affairs occupy him more than those he would be entrusted with by an appointment, which experience has convinced him will last only for a short period of time. Thus, with this man there is not only lacking the necessary interests for the [official] affairs, but it is also to be expected that private interests might come into conflict with his positions as an appointed civil servant, and what the result would be, should not be difficult to anticipate.

Thus if the Establishment is perplexed with regard to the undertaking of the business while the employed servants are expected to be alive, then the perplexity would be even greater if death should take one or more [lives], which, as shown in the past, could easily happen in this unhealthy climate. And if we add this likelihood to the possibility, too, that Lutterodt, who is an old man, should die, it seems to the Establishment a matter of great urgency even now to think of the future. Therefore, as a result of these reflections, as a matter of duty, we take the liberty of applying to the Board that with the ship to be sent to the Coast in the course of the summer, there be sent out another civil servant. It is absolutely obvious that shipping out another servant would not give any guarantee that one time or the other the entire personnel might have passed away; but some likelihood that this will not happen lies in the circumstance that the new civil servant will be sent out at another time of the year than his predecessors.

If the Board approves of this application, then we take the liberty [207] of suggesting that the servant who will be appointed as a result of this should be given the title of chief clerk, and whose duty, when the staff is complete, will be to work in the office, but in case of vacancies, he should be appointed in accordance with the regulations of the Establishment. The salary suggested is 400 Rdl. g. Ct. per annum, since Guinea is a very expensive place to live. We are also of the opinion that it would be most correct in regard to this servant to abolish the regulation, according to which a reserve assistant should not keep his salary, when

he is constituted to a higher position, with the exception in the case of the clerk enjoying the *complete* salary of the higher position.

Since a pecuniary aspect is of great importance in the management of the possessions here the Establishment takes the liberty of drawing the attention of the Board to the fact that we have permitted ourselves to suggest that when the change takes place regarding the villeins, one will receive a sum in hand from which the salary of the clerk could be met, as well as realizing a saving of almost 1,000 Rdl. g. Ct.¹⁹²

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

29 January 1846

For lack of cowries [boss], a loan has been raised on a bill of exchange. The English now make payment in shillings instead of cowries.

G.J. 325/1846, filed under 99/1850.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 January 1846

As from this day the Establishment has received a loan from Merchant Dring of 600 *pjaster* and therefore *in duplo* a bill of exchange, or order, of £130 has been issued to that Merchant Dring, which we take the liberty of recommending be honoured by the Board.

Regarding the reasons for the Establishment taking another loan, we do not neglect, in course of duty, to remark, as stated in the letter of 13th this month [208] that for a long time there has been a lack of *boss* at the warehouse, which has been met by small loans and by payment in *boss*. But what has then been received has only been sufficient for paying the necessary expenses, while all other disbursements have been in *pjaster*. It is, however, not only the Establishment that is lacking *boss*. This lack is also felt in the whole area, and one would therefore certainly [not]

¹⁹² This report occasioned a royal resolution of 25 March 1846, by which Schumacher and Bergenhammer respectively were appointed as first and second assistant and Student Emil Schmidt as surnummerair assistant to the Establishment in Guinea. (G.J. 331/1846).

expect in the near future to receive *boss* without a high rate, as 60 *dam boss* for a *pjaster*. Under such unfavourable conditions the Establishment considers it unwise to buy a batch of *boss*, since there is every reasons to expect not inconsiderable losses in the future. Although *boss* are necessary here on the Coast for the small purchases, the Establishment is of the opinion that by exchanging *pjaster* one might often get the necessary *boss* in return and avoid great losses, until more favourable market conditions are in place.

Because of the abovementioned reasons, the final accounts in *boss* have been entered in the cash balance book, and the single small payments will therefore be kept under the *pjaster* account. However, the Board will see from the abovementioned that the use of *pjaster* in the future will increase, and since there is no reason to assume that the sum available, namely \$476, would under the present conditions, be sufficient until the arrival of the Danish ship, that loan of \$600 has been taken. Furthermore, it seems that also *pjaster* will be scarce here on the Coast, partly because the English war ships, which previously often paid for their provisions, etc. in *pjaster*, now have begun to pay in shillings, which have not yet obtained a rate of exchange here and are, therefore, not easy to sell. The trade the natives carry on with the Europeans, or between themselves, consists mostly of bartering, and it is not likely that in this kind of trade coins will come into circulation, while the trade the resident Europeans carry on with the English merchant ships, usually requires a good amount of coins, which will cause the number in circulating to decrease.

By all this, the Establishment feels that it has fully justified the necessity both for having taken a loan, and for the request in the previous letter of 13 this month, to have \$5,000 sent out, a request we take the liberty of repeating. [209]

The loan, as the Board will see, is finalized on the same terms as the previous one, by Charles Clowston, since here on the Coast, one cannot get better terms.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

10 February 1846

Repetition of Governor Carstensen's application for leave. Proposal for permanent appointments of Schumacher and Bergenhammer. G.J. 314/1846, filed under 944/1849; duplicate 347/1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 February 1846

On 6 August 1845 I sent to the distinguished Board an application for leave in case circumstances made it necessary for me to leave Guinea. After the dispatch of the mentioned application, and after completing a journey to the gold mines in Akim, I have been suffering from an illness, to whose weakening effects I have been succumbed to up to now, and still will be exposed to as long as I am influenced by the enervating climate of this country.

If the distinguished Board has not already forwarded an approval of my application of 6 August 1845, I must now, convinced by the futility and the danger in a continued stay on this coast under the present conditions, quite urgently request the Board to grant me a permission to leave, valid for one year from spring 1847.

Trusting that the Board will honour my petition, I have announced to the members of the Council here that I intend to go to Denmark during spring 1847. This notification occasioned the Establishment's letter of 22 January this year, regarding a reserve assistant being sent out in the course of the year with the outward-bound Danish transport ship to Guinea.

I will thus take the liberty of making the following remarks. My journey to Europe, with the forthcoming vacancies, will not alone make the absence of an available civil servant perceptible. This will necessitate promotions of the two servants who are already [210] temporarily holding higher positions than those to which they have been appointed, to be appointed temporarily to the offices of governor and first assistant. This situation, applied to Second Assistant Schumacher and Reserve Assistant Bergenhammer, now temporarily first and second assistant at this Establishment, strengthen the argument for the permanent appointment of temporary civil servants in Guinea, issued by me in favour of Assistant Eriksen in a letter to the Board of ultimo July 1844,

seems already now to speak in favour of now informing Schumacher and Bergenhammer, whose services and personal behaviour are a pleasant contrast to what I have experienced previously, of a permanent appointment of the positions which they now hold temporarily.

Attached to my application for leave in 1847, I hereby add my well-deserved recommendation that Second Assistant Schumacher and Reserve Assistant Bergenhammer should, most graciously, receive payment as respectively first assistant and second assistant of the Guinean Establishment.

Edw. Carstensen

2 March 1846

Governor Carstensen has been paying a visit to Akropong to supervise the instalment of a new chief in Akuapem. The representatives of certain towns, were late for the ceremony, but still had to pay homage to the new chief. Even Dokua, Adum's mother, had to submit to this election. On the administrative districts in Akuapem.

G.J. 323/1846, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 50/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 2 March 1846

The distinguished Board would in the Establishment's letter of 19 November 1845 no. 67, have observed the preliminary regulations made in November regarding the Akuapem country.

On 6 December last year, Governor Carstensen and Assistant Schumacher paid a visit to Akropong. The instalment of the new cabuceer by the governor was fixed for 7 December. As usual, Negroes from several towns were still not assembled at Akropong at the appointed time, and the governor was asked to wait for a couple of days. The governor who had given the Negroes sufficient notice, [211] regarded it below the dignity of his office to yield to the request, which, caused by the indolence and unreliability of the Negroes, could by indulgence lead to repetitions and even greater unreliability in the future.

On 7 December 1845 the Negro Ohinne-Kumma took his oath to the Danish Establishment, and after being paid tribute to by those present,

he was declared the cabuceer of the Establishment in Akuapem country. The assembly was notified that a corporal and two soldiers would stay on in Akuapem to take note when, and if, all the missing representatives of the Akuapem towns would arrive at Akropong to pay their tribute to the man suggested by Akuapem and installed by the Establishment as cabuceer, that those towns which did not send representatives would be regarded as in opposition to the Establishment and the new cabuceer. Next day Governor Carstensen and Assistant Schumacher were back at the plantation Frederiksgave.

Ten days after the instalment of Cabuceer Ohinne-Kumma, Corporal Hansen and the two soldiers that were left at Akropong on 7 December, arrived at the fort. The report of the corporal notified that all the Akuapem towns represented by messengers had paid their tribute to the new cabuceer. In the following days messengers from all the towns mentioned below, turned up, declaring that they had paid their homage to Cabuceer Ohinne-Kumma.

During the last days of last month, Cabuceer Ohinne-Kumma celebrated his cabuceer custom. In accordance with his request, a corporal and two soldiers were sent to Akropong under the command of Chief of Guard Svedstrup, to make sure that peace and order should prevail during the custom. Delegates from Akim, from Accra, from most of the Akuapem towns, were present. The cabuceer complained only about the absence of Cabuceer Quafung, and also about the intrigues that the mother of the retiring cabuceer, Adum, still instigated to at Tuttu, and urged Svedstrup to arrange for a meeting with a Negro at Lathe, who, in connection with Adum's mother, prevented peace in the country. When the Lathe Negro refused to obey the two soldiers that were ordered there, Svedstrup himself went there and forced the Negro out of town. Later this same Negro took his oath of loyalty to the Establishment and the new cabuceer.

Today a soldier, accompanied by a messenger from Cabuceer Ohinne-Kumma, announced that Adum's mother had at last left the town [212] of Tuttu. In Akropong she had delivered to the new cabuceer everything she had in her possession belonging to the stool of Akuapem, then paid tribute to Ohinne-Kumma as the chief of the country. Cabuceer Quafung has now appeared at the custom in Akropong.

It will still take some time before the Establishment will be able to

CLOSING THE BOOKS

complete the arrangements in connection with the Akuapem situation. The anarchistic condition the country has been in for a long time, the poverty of the cabuceer stool in the context of cabuceer dignity and lack of power, in the general opinion of the people, are for the time being obstacles, which time well-spent, and strength will overcome, but which could not be removed by a pre-emptive fiat. Akuapem now has one chief, one cabuceer acknowledged by all. The fractional fighting has ended. In this there is already guarantee for the peace of the country in the future. The list below shows how Akuapem, at the moment, is organized in respect to administration.

Akropong: Akuapem cabuceer Ohinne –Kumma

“ “ mediator Coffy Krah

Towns belonging directly under Akropong: Bosmasch and Amanno.

Three cabuceers are under the order of the Akropong cabuceer in the towns:

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| 1. Abodée | 2. Lathe | 3. Adukrong |
| Cabuceer Quafung | Cab. Asioduh | Cab. Apaja-Coffy |

Under which still lesser towns belong:

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Re 1: Blækhuso | Re 2: Tuttu | Re 3: Abrew |
| Atjasin | Mampong | Dau |
| Aschrewase | Mamphæ | Aikuga |
| | Cubiase | Aprette |
| | | Abonsé |

The smaller towns are governed by lieutenants. In all towns the Elders of the town form a kind of magistrate [legal authority].

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

5 March 1846

A French schooner has visited the Coast. By and large the English and the French squadrons, which are to combat the slave trade, work separately. G.J. 324/1846, filed under 446/1846; duplicate 51/1847. |213|

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 5 March 1846

On 24 January the schooner *La Fine*, commanded by Baron Darricau¹⁹³, an advice [intelligence] ship for the French admiral of the West African squadron, Montagnes de Laroche¹⁹⁴ [Montagnié de la Roche], anchored in the roads. Baron Darricau, who was ordered to pay his compliments to the governors of the European establishments on this coast, told the following in regard to the French squadron. In the first days of March the French fleet will leave the chief station at Gorée, and on the crossing from Cap Verde to the West coast of 16 degrees 30' southern latitude, the various war ships will be detached to their respective stations.

The French admiral, on board the steamer *Le Caraïbe*, will in the first days of February have a meeting with the English Commander Iones¹⁹⁵ [Jones], on board the steamer *Penelope*, at Fernando Po. On 28 January the steamer *Penelope* passed the English roads on her way to Fernando Po.

The two squadron chiefs had their appointed meeting at Fernando Po, although it is still not known what measures on the part of the French-English against the slave trade the meeting might have led to. It is expected that the treaty of 29 May 1845¹⁹⁶ will only slightly be observed as far as the cooperation of the French and English war ships are concerned. The French openly admit that the purpose of the treaty of 29 May was to cancel an existing, unpopular treaty. The purpose was achieved, and it is left to the chiefs of the squadrons to decide where and how the war ships of the two nations should be cooperating in accordance with the new treaty. The chiefs of the squadrons, as well as their officers, prefer to have as little as possible to do with each other, so the result will be that the conditions will be unchanged for the French and the English war ships in the Gulf of Guinea. The French [214] plan, if possible, to occupy 19 coast guard stations. The connection between

¹⁹³ Rodolphe-Augustin, Baron Darricau, French *lieutenant de vaisseau* of 2nd grade 1838.

¹⁹⁴ Jean Baptiste Montagnié de la Roque, French contre admiral 1844, commander of the French naval station in West Africa.

¹⁹⁵ Probably William Jones, English naval officer (1805-46), captain 1828, chief of the steam frigate *Penelope* 1843.

¹⁹⁶ On 29 May 1845 a convention between England and France regarding the abolition of the slave trade, printed in *British & Foreign State Papers* 1844-45, page 4-18.

them will be maintained by steamers, so every month a steamer will leave Gorée to sail along the Guinea Coast, and on the way back bring dispatches to the squadron chief, who will be stationed at Gorée. A steamer will again be in operation from Gorée to Cadiz. Thus will a speedy communications route to Europe, long desired, be opened also for other nations.

The deputy commander of the French squadron is Captain Bouet, Comte de Willaumez, previously the governor of Senegal. This officer is likely to be seen more often in the Guinean Gulf than the French admiral, since he is actually entrusted the management of the French-Guinean affairs. The admiral, appointed by himself (Bouet) to take the command of the squadron, is filling the position, which Bouet, because of young age and too little time in service, cannot yet fill¹⁹⁷.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

18 March 1846

Two applications for rent allowances have been refused, but the matter is left to the Council to decide. A discussion of whether the flats in the fort are unhealthier than those in town. The Establishment is of the opinion that they are equally bad. The lagoon behind the fort does not make any difference.

G.J. 327/1846, filed under 267/1852; duplicate 53/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 18 March 1846

The Establishment has hereby the honour to call on the Board to a further pleasant decision on the two applications¹⁹⁸ from Battalion Surgeon Hansen and Catechist Mühlensteth on being granted rent allowances. The applications are based mostly on the fact that the dwellings at Fort Christiansborg are unhealthier than those in town, a

¹⁹⁷ [In 1846 Bouet was 38 years.]

¹⁹⁸ Mühlensteth's application of 2 March and Hansen's of 7 March 1846, are both enclosed the report.

view the doctor, Battalion Surgeon Hansen, supports by a declaration requested from Catechist Mühlensteth.

If the Establishment were to share the opinion of the applicants, that the flats in town are more healthy than those in the fort [215], it would be a straightforward matter of course not only to approve the applications, but it would also be the duty of the Establishment with all its power, to petition that the fort no longer be inhabited by Europeans. One can, however, not share the abovementioned opinion, and while one takes the liberty to give the grounds for it, it seems superfluous to enter into how it was previously, since the past has no influence on the present conditions.

As the Board is aware, Fort Christiansborg is built immediately close to the sea on a flat sand beach, although on the highest point of that beach, and since the buildings have a not insignificant height, it must be regarded as being situated quite unobstructed, especially after the events in the beginning of last year, which resulted in some Negro cottages that were built closely west of the fort, being demolished. A natural consequence of the fort's proximity to the sea, is that it is often surrounded by a salty fog, caused by the sun hitting the salty shore, and since the sea wind blows this fog in to the land, the dwellings in the fort, especially at the south wing where the governor's residence is, are *extremely humid*, and against this humidity no remedy has been found. The windows that we have acquired to the fort lately are not capable of keeping the salty fog out, since, as we know, it will in time penetrate the walls constructed of wood and clay. That this humidity is not good for health is beyond doubt, but it is well equally beyond doubt that this natural circumstances that cause this humidity at the fort would also have the same effect in the houses of the town Ussu, whose location is even less fortunate than the fort's, since they are placed much lower. Although some of the houses in the town are not built so close to the shore as the fort, the difference is only some few hundred *alen*, and the allegation that the fog would not have any effect within such a short distance seems devoid of reason to the Establishment, since there is always a southwest wind during the day, besides experience proving the opposite. The opinion of the Establishment has previously also been shared by the doctor, Battalion Surgeon Hansen.

According to the abovementioned, the Establishment can only

presume that a stay in town must in regard to humidity, be just as unhealthy as in the fort, and it is also only a question [216] of the lagoon - or as it is called in the doctor's statement "a swamp full of morass and of other uncleanness" - effecting the health situation in the fort. The lagoon, that is north-east of the fort, is an enclosed water of extreme salinity, which during the rainy season, has a considerable influx of water and then flows further to the north of the fort. Furthermore, in some extremely humid years it even breaks through to the sea, but this is soon blocked again by sand. Yet, when the sea is very high it fills the lagoon, and partly because of that and partly because of the salt-drenched shore, which separates it from the sea, it obtains the salt with which it is filled. On the map that the Board has in its possession, the lagoon is clearly marked, but the location is absolutely wrong, since its course is not from north to south-west as marked, but the location is from west to east along the shore, and obtains, as mentioned before, during the rainy season, the water running from the heights of Frederiksberg.

The circumstance that the water is very saline is probably the reason it never dries up, but rather, it causes some mephitic emanation. That this takes place cannot be denied, but the emanation does not affect the ort. As previously stated, during the day a southwest wind prevails, and during the night a northwest [wind], and it is only during the harmattan that the eastern winds blow. If one recalls the location of the lagoon, and also the various [directions of the] winds, then it will be absolutely obvious that the emanations cannot be led towards the fort, but rather away from it, which has been proven by experience, because during the time I, Carstensen, have been here, I have never felt any unpleasant mephitic emanation from the lagoon. That now, after an unusually long draught, it is more insignificant than it used to be, shows that if an unhealthy emanation prevailed, it should be now; but so far nothing has been noticed. That it would be extremely desirable if the lagoon were to be dried up is beyond doubt, but any effort in this direction has so far been in vain. And since the Establishment is highly restricted in regard to matters of money, there has been no further experimentation, and it is of even slightest interest since it is the [general] opinion that the case regarding the lagoon is only of little importance to the fort and its inhabitants.

[217] Because of the abovementioned the Establishment is of the

opinion that the sanitary aspect brought forward by the applicants, does not speak for their petition; since the dwellings in town could not be regarded as more healthy than those in the fort. This is also supported by the fact that the servants who have returned to Denmark, had all taken up residence in the fort, while those who took up lodging in town, died just as often as those who stayed in the fort.

When the catechist describes the rooms he has lived in so far as dark and dull, then it appears that these expressions, like similar ones uttered before, are used by one and disputed by another with the same result, since they all rely on personal views. The Establishment allotted the rooms they had available to the catechist, and did so in good faith, since Catechist Tørsleff¹⁹⁹ and several of the predecessors of the applicants, among whom one was even married, had lived there without any complaints.

If the catechist, however, had been completely honest, he should have added in his petition that for the moment, and before he came up with any desire of moving into town, he was assigned to another flat, which consists of 3 spacious and airy rooms. These rooms have become vacant because Assistant Schumacher has moved to Frederiksberg, and Doctor Hansen has declared that he is not moving into the fort, since he has built himself his own house, and finally, the fact that the school has moved to another room. From the flat that thus has been offered the catechist during his time in office, he will be able to keep 2 rooms, which have been occupied by co-signatory Bergenhammer, while he would have to give up the third, if a new servant should arrive at the fort.

To strengthen his application the catechist had in particular added that Frederiksberg had been enlarged in order to make it fit for living, and that Hansen was granted a housing allowance. The grounds that moved the Establishment at a particular time to offer Hansen a housing allowance, have been justified to the Board in a letter of 29 November last year, but since these reasons, that were not, in fact, applicable to the catechist, no longer obtain, and those building constructions mentioned in the letter have been fulfilled, the Establishment has from 27 January this year withdrawn the housing allowance granted to Hansen, [218] consequently, any further argumentation based on this is not correct. It

¹⁹⁹ Jacob Rosborg Tørsleff (1803-79), catechist in Guinea 1834-42.

is correct, however, that the Establishment is refurbishing Frederiksberg into habitable condition, so that the co-signatory Schumacher can live there. The Board may remember that Frederiksberg originally was built for recreational purposes for the civil servants. But when experiencing that the building itself could not provide recreation, and that it was very seldom used, we did, as before, not hesitate to refurbish it as living quarters for a civil servant. And this was done so much more willingly in the hope that by doing so it would also, in a suitable way, contribute to the realization of the original purpose of Frederiksberg, as well as taking into consideration that a residence was [now] available that was just as well located as could be expected regarding sanitary conditions. Should Frederiksberg be used for housing purposes, it was also natural that Schumacher was given the advantage, not only because of his official position, but mostly because, for the time being, he is the only married official, and that the flats of the fort, as mentioned in a letter of 29 November last year, could not offer suitable lodging for a married man.

Thus the Establishment cannot seriously consider the reasons stated by the applicants, although one would have to admit (and this is probably the reason for the applications) that it is more pleasant to live in town than in the fort. How much more pleasant would, to a degree, depend on the individual, and should therefore not be mentioned here. But surely, anyone who wished to avoid the discomfort of life in the fort would have to pay the insignificant amount of 30 Rdl. g. Ct., which is the price of this pleasantness, and the Establishment does not find itself in any way induced to petition payment for this expense from public funds.

Although the Establishment cannot recommend the applications as presented, we take the liberty of forwarding for the decision of the Board, [a request that] Hansen, in regard to the other reasons petitioned by him, which caused him to build his own house - could still be granted some housing allowance, since, at all time, he is still required to keep 8 *cabes* of goods monthly, until his house is finished, which so far has been delayed by the particularly long draught.

From what the Establishment has here presented, it should be clear [219] that living in the fort is just as healthy as staying in town, or

rather, that both places are equally unhealthy for Europeans. But in no way should this be understood as a recommendation of the fort as a permanent residence for Europeans. Quite the contrary, we are here of a firm conviction that should the Establishment be maintained, it will be of a moral necessity for the government to take measures to make changes in the housing conditions for the civil servants. This case as well as some others which include the intended changes in the Instruction, are for the time being under consideration of the Establishment and will in a few months time be presented to the Board²⁰⁰.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

30 March 1846

Proposal for the restoration of Fort Prinsenstein and the reason for this project. Acquisitions of cannons.

G.J. 343/1846, filed under 218/1847; duplicate 54/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 30 March 1846.

The letter of 27 December 1845²⁰¹ from the distinguished Board arrived here yesterday, on the 28th this month. Today a schooner is anchored in the roads, which will leave for London early tomorrow morning. This coincidence is so much better as the Establishment now can make it reasonably clear that the case of great importance, treated by the Board in a letter of 27 December 1845, and reported about here, could finally be discussed before the departure of the Danish transport ship from Copenhagen. Truly, the short notice does not allow for a detailed report concerning the expenses of the restoration of the forts Kongenstein and Prinsenstein, but this situation should not delay the decision of a matter which is so important to the Establishment.

²⁰⁰ In Copenhagen it was decided to put up with the previous decisions, i.e. the case was dismissed.

²⁰¹ In the letter of the Board of 27 December 1845, the Establishment is informed by the Foreign Office that both Prinsenstein and Kongenstein should be rebuilt. (G.J. 178/1845).

The repair and reorganization of Fort Kongensten will be an expensive matter, and the location of this fort, its surroundings, tell against [220] spending more than just what supervision of the place might cost. This could be achieved by using the ruins of the fort as a fortified residence for an inspector, as a stronghold and meeting place for expeditions from Chief Fort Christiansborg. On the other hand, a portion of the amount that would have been used for the repair of Fort Kongensten should be spent on a fortified station at a greater distance from the sea than what has been the case so far. The so-called Krobbo *revier* [lagoon] town (mentioned in my report on the journey in Akim, etc.) has a very favourable location possible for the building of a “watch tower or fortified house”. Its location at the foot of the Akuapem mountains, on the bank of the Volta River, has made it into a shipping harbour for the Adda and Augna Negroes’ salt trade with the mountain people, but also as a residence for the slave trade agents and vagabonds, who have found temporary refuge in Krobbo town, which does not belong to any particular Negro community. By choosing this location for building a residence with a fortified ring wall (timber and rock are abundant), there will be sufficient defence for this country against enemies, and a good shelter for friends in case of a sudden controversy.

Such a “fortified station” ought to be built in accordance with the same considerations as a “blockhouse”, as cheaply as possible to fortify a given point where a permanent fortification is not necessary. For the realization of this, a sum of approximately 2,000 Rdl. g. Ct. once and for all would be necessary and an annual allowance of 1,000 Rdl. g. Ct.

I shall not dwell any longer on this matter. I think, it should be carefully examined by the Establishment, and besides we should consider places in between only when our terminal point to the east, Fort Prinsensten, is repaired, or the preparations of it are well under way.

I may take it for granted that the Board agrees with me *now* energetically and industriously initiate the repair of Fort Prinsensten to the extent that the outer lines of the fort are in a proper state, and that a simple residence is fitted up for the use of a supervisor. It will depend upon the decision of the Board whether the fort is to be habitable for a commander, and further to be put into a state of complete defence,

a resolution, which the Danish-Guinean conditions might prove to be required. [221]

It will be difficult to state the sum, which the repair of Fort Prinsensten may require. I may indicate here at least 5,000 Rdl. g. Ct. The annual expense of the maintenance of the fort may be estimated to 2,500 Rdl. g. Ct. per year. Armaments are not included in the calculation. In this respect it will be most appropriate to arm the fort with 8 cannons, i.e. 2 on each bastion. The cannons are not to be used against attacks from the seaside or against an attack led by European strategy and tactics. As defence against a possible enemy among the Negroes, for saluting one 3-pound gun-metal cannon would be sufficient. Two 3-pound gun-metal cannons were brought to Prinsensten in October, 6 are kept at Christiansborg as well as some ammunition for the same. It might be expedient to have the cannons for Christiansborg and Prinsensten in much the same calibre as possible, and to achieve that, the lack of artillery at Christiansborg might be supplemented with 3-pound gun-metal cannons. The fortification of Christiansborg, as the chief fort, would as reported earlier, require another 10 cannons. Prinsensten would require 8 pieces. Thus 18 3-pounds gun-metal cannons should be sufficient, all of which would necessarily have to be provided with iron gun carriages, which the remaining 8 3-pound gun-metal cannons would also have to be provided with, since these gun carriages always have to be renewed and require expensive manpower and equipment. It will be necessary, provided that Fort Prinsensten is reorganized, to select a fortified point north of Kongensten, and that officers be sent out. At each place a commander is necessary, and it would be desirable to have one more sent out than the necessary number, to meet eventualities.

It would be desirable to find young educated officers to fill the offices of chief of guard and commander at the Establishment. But if they were still appointed from among the artillery sergeants, they should be chosen as young as possible and moreover also in consideration of the position that they will occupy, which in accordance with local conditions would raise them far above the rank they hold. Not only the assistance of military officers should be required, it will also be necessary to give the Establishment the prescribed number of personnel by sending out two reserve assistants. [222] Time does not allow me to continue, but we

must hope that the distinguished Board will let this letter be sufficient in providing what is necessary for the Danish ship, so that this rare opportunity is not missed, to establish that which is necessary to the advantage of this case dealt with by the Establishment²⁰².

Edw. Carstensen

2 April 1846

Another loan has been raised.

G.J. 358/1846, filed under 99/1850.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 2 April 1846

The Establishment has frequently in its last letters made it known to the Board that the trade here has been extremely insignificant and the warehouses only partly stocked, the question about *pjaster* will be steadily more urgent.

This assumption has also been confirmed, and of the \$1,288 in the beginning of the year, only 300 were left at the end of January, and besides we had been compelled to deny the Basel Mission a payment of a few hundred of *pjaster*, to avoid emptying the warehouse completely.

Under these circumstances the Establishment was forced to raise a new loan, which was also obtained, but on poorer conditions than before, since it required 4 sh 6 d per a *pjaster*, instead of as earlier, when they could be had for 2 d less. Although, as stated in a letter of 29 January this year, *pjaster* is becoming more rare here on the Coast, and when the missionaries here had to give 5 sh per *pjaster* for a loan they had taken, and finally, it was absolutely necessary to have cash, we have raised a loan from Captain Marman in English Accra of \$2,500 and thereby issued a bill of exchange in duplicate with a face value of £562 Sterling 10 sh, which we as a matter of duty take the liberty of recommending that it be honoured by the Board.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

²⁰² Another letter (G.J. 344/1846) was enclosed, in which Schumacher and Bergenhammer recommended the repair of Prinsensten.

|223|8 May 1846

The wish to have the repairs of Fort Prinsenstein completed as soon as possible. Details concerning the work and calculations of the costs.

G.J. 378/1846, filed under 218/1847; duplicate 58/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 8 May 1846

The letter from the distinguished Board of 27 December last year reached the Coast on 29 March this year. The information about the forts Kongenstein and Prinsenstein, asked for in the letter, was recorded the day after the arrival of the letter from the Board and dispatched on 31 March. The desire that a reply to the letter from the Board, even though incomplete, should possibly reach Denmark before the departure of the outward-bound Danish ship, resulted in the reply not being subjected to long consideration. The desire remains that the reply reaches the Board in time and that the incompleteness may not cause a postponement of the very desirable arrangements concerning the repair of Fort Prinsenstein, and even more important, that the not very detailed information in the mentioned reply still must be considered to be taken into account.

The Board will learn from the extract of the Negotiation Protocol no. 36, of 7 April, that Chief of Guard Svedstrup was directed to Prinsenstein to take measures to prevent further decay of the fort and to lead the eventual repair, according to the instruction of the governor of 5 April this year.

The reports from Chief of Guard Svedstrup of 13 and 17 April indicate several evidences of dilapidations of the batteries of the fort, and they also inform that lack of water in the lagoon behind Quitta for a long time will prevent the transport of fuel necessary for burning lime. Chief of Guard Svedstrup has therefore received orders that, without delay, to have required lime burnt for repairs that is absolutely necessary when the eventual complete repair of the fort will be undertaken; and in that regard, when that repair is started, should hinder further damage to be more costly. If lack of water [in the lagoon] should still prevent the cheap transport of fuel, etc., would, when the provisional work is carried out, all work at the fort have to cease. |224|

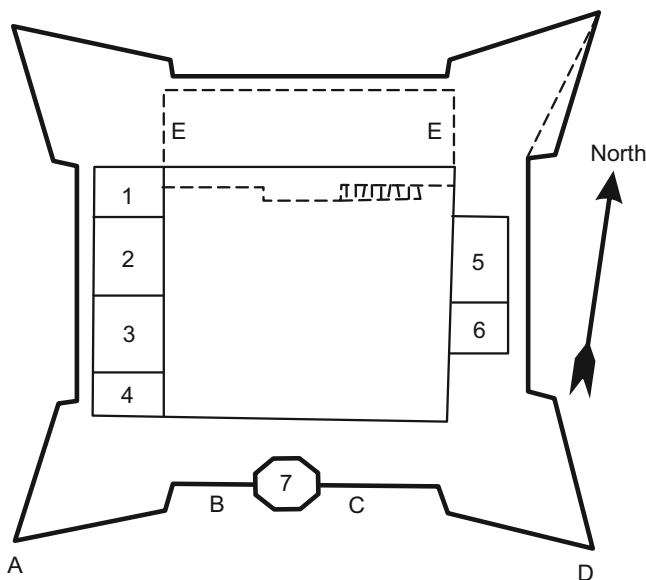
Usually, the level of the water of the lagoon should be at its highest in September and October. Absence of rain in 1845 gives hope that it should not, again, this year lead to obstacles in communication with Atokko, Adda and other places. In case of a high water level in September-October, the necessary fuel can be carried to Quitta very quickly. The outward-bound Danish ship will make it possible for the Establishment to carry the necessary material and manpower to Fort P., and the two fallen batteries will quickly be restored. It will then depend on the recommendation of the Board, which will be expected with the Danish ship, whether Fort P. should only be given the repairs necessary for an ordinary supervisor to live there and hoist the Danish flag on standing upright batteries, or if the repairs should be undertaken with the intention that the fort should have armament, personnel and be commanded in a way worthy of the Danish flag, thus in keeping with the demands of the day.

The Augna cabuceer (the fetish-chief) has some firewood and oyster shell [*skjøl*] ready for transportation, i.e. the fuel due as a fine according to the settlement of the Quitta palaver in October 1845. Furthermore, the Augna cabuceer shows every desirable willingness to collect the material necessary for the repair of the fort. The repair of the fort is welcomed by the Augna chief. This man is referred to as a clear-thinking king, still, because of his lack of private means, he lacks the necessary influence over the inhabitants of the country, especially its rich men, i.e. slave traders and their very keen adherents. In the repair and reorganization of the fort, providing a place where palavers can be decided, the guilty arrested and punished, and the well-deserved gifts which will fall to him, the Augna cabuceer sees his own advantages.

The complete repair of Fort P. has previously been repeatedly calculated to 5,000 Rdl. g. Ct. However, under favourable circumstances, the eventual expenses will not reach this sum. It is extremely difficult to estimate a work like the forthcoming repair of Fort P. During the work unexpected breaks might easily turn up, the material might under unfavourable circumstances demand higher prices; in addition, the particular local conditions here at the Coast might in several ways exert a contrary influence on the project calculations. The calculation of 5,000 Rdl. g. Ct. is based on the following estimates: [225]

Wages to the workers (fewer or more accord. to circumstances)	2,000 Rdl.g.Ct.
Lime ready for use	1,000 - - -
Carpenter-blacksmith-and painting-work and material	1,000 - - -
Cost in connection with unexpected work, etc.	<u>1,000 - - -</u>
	5,000 Rdl.g.Ct.

The drawing below of Fort P. and the comments attached to it, will show what the repair of the fort might include. The fort has suffered mostly on the seaside, while the bastions and the *courtine* [entrenchment between two bastions], facing to the north, east and west would only require superficial repair, among which the parapet has deteriorated at some places, as well as the parts of the southern bastion with the *courtine* in between, marked a-b and c-d, have fallen down. The middle part of the *courtine* with the 8-cornered room (marked 7) and the gate below, are still standing. Thus the fallen a-b and c-d are what of necessity must be restored, after the superficial repairs to the other batteries have been completed. As is well known, stone is not found at Quitta. The fallen bastions will therefore be reconstructed, partly by stone and masonry



debris gathered from the fallen bastions, partly from stone and debris of the building E-E, whose walls are still intact, but the extent [of the work] (the previous Establishment hall) will require a costly restoration.

Therefore it is more suitable for demolition, thus making available the necessary material for building the battery. In the western *courtine* the fort has four rooms and on the eastern *courtine* 2 rooms. They are [226] still under a roof, but lack doors and windows; the same applies to room no.7 on the southern *courtine* above the gate. When building E-E is demolished, the northern *courtine* will be on a level with the bastions. Since the floors of the building are fallen down, they will, when rebuilt, make the roofing [*platninger*] of the *courtine*. On both sides of the gate two diagonal pillars will be raised to buttress the gate.

The greater part of the construction consists, therefore, of : 1. repair of bastion and *courtine* AB and CD; 2. the base of the *courtine* E-E; and 3. the diagonal pillars of the gate. The smaller masonry work consists of the repair of the base, seats in the latrines, and the whitewashing of the fort.

A complete restoration of the fort will require that all the rooms be repaired, while a restoration of a dwelling for a supervisor might require that only the rooms no. 5 and 6, and also 7 be retained, while no.1 to 4 can be demolished. From this it will be seen the expenses of the two abovementioned considerations of the repair will not differ much. All masonry work must to be done, if the fort is not to be abandoned. That the fort should have personnel and be completely armed requires only that the repairs to the rooms no. 4-1 must be added.

Fort P. will at the completion end of the specified work again be one of the most beautiful forts at the Coast. Its location close to the slave markets, speaks decisively in favour of armament and personnel. Fort P's complete organization in regard to command, garrison, armament, etc., can be estimated to the following:

1 commander, annual salary	500 Rdl.g.Ct.
if this servant enjoys another position at the Establishment, this will be supplemented with 500 Rdl.g.Ct.	
1 interpreter (and sergeant at the garrison) per month	8 Rdl.g.Ct., annually 96- -
1 non-commissioned officer - - -	3 - - - 36 - - -
20 soldiers, per month - - -	2 - - - 480 - - -
The garrison will every half year be relieved from Christiansborg; since this fort cannot do without such a great part of its garrison, which also must be kept as an expense for Prinsensten. The garrison at Prinsensten will, however, receive a supplement of 30 <i>dam boss</i>	

(1/2 <i>pjaster</i>) per month, i.e. for 20 men annually	144 - - -
Non-commissioned officers: 1 Rdl.g.Ct. monthly supplement, annually	12 - - -
Uniforms for one non-commissioned officer and 20 men	330 - - -
227	
Ammunition	50 - - -
Keeping of canoes	150 - - -
Maintenance of the fort, whitewashing, etc.	200 - - -
Miscellaneous expenses	<u>500 - - -</u>
Sum	2,498 Rdl.g.Ct.

The maintenance of Fort Prinsenstein may thus be estimated to an annual sum of (rounded off) 2,500 Rdl.g. Ct. The fort is expected to be sufficiently armed with 8 3-pound gun-metal cannons, that is, two on each battery. This gun, mounted on a gun carriage of cast iron, will be an easily manageable weapon (irrespective of the weakness of the garrison), which in addition possesses a sufficient range and effect against possible attacks by the inhabitants of the country. It will not be a question of arming the fort against an attack from the seaside from an enemy warship and the bomb cannons now being used. The expenses of obtaining 8 3-pound gun-metal cannons on iron gun carriages cannot be estimated here. Since the lack of guns at Fort Christiansborg must supposedly be supplemented by cannons of the calibre indicated on iron gun carriages, the cost of the armament on both forts might better be listed together under the extraordinary expenses.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

20 May 1846

Letter accompanying the proposal for a new defence plan for the Danish-Guinean possessions and the proposal for regulations of the defence forces, manning of the forts, armaments and ammunition, equipment, etc. of the forts and the expenses thereby.

J.G. ad 381/1846, filed under 43/1850²⁰³.

²⁰³ The enclosure is addressed "To the Establishment of the Danish-Guinean establishments" and together with the proposal dispatched to Copenhagen, as an enclosure (G.J. 381/1846), which is a copy of the Establishment's Council and Negotiation Protocol of 31 March 1846.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 May 1846

I hereby present to the Establishment “The Regulations of the Defence Forces” for these possessions. My purpose [228] in doing this is partly to produce an attachment to the military budget, which is included in the Establishment’s proposal for a change based on new demands in the expense budget of the Establishment, and partly in the event of an approval of the budget, principally, to create a firm base for the defensive force in organizing it in an effective way so that it can assist the Establishment in its efforts in making peace and order in the country. The last mentioned purpose adds to this fund necessary to assure that the defensive force should be as solid and enduring as possible, but no more expensive or stronger than what the local conditions demand; that attack weapons are not included, which only would be temporary, i.e. by storing would fast become unusable destructive weapons. Nevertheless, I have had in mind, to place the troop and weapon depots (mainly the last mentioned) of the defence forces under strict rules with regard to quantity and quality of the materiel. My purpose has been to make sure that the weapon depot is both solid and sufficiently equipped, as well as to safeguard against an unintended increase or changes in the course of time. Should the members of the Council approve of my proposed considerations, this draft on a “Regulation of the Defence Forces” as well as this letter, would be attached to the treatment of the case by the Establishment “on changes in the economic management of the Establishment”.

Edw. Carstensen

*Regulations
for the Defence Forces of the Danish-Guinean Establishment*

§1. The Chief Fort Christiansborg is the troop and weapon depot of the Establishment. From the chief fort the necessary force of men, weapons and ammunition are detached to the subordinate military stations (Prinsensten, Kongensten, Fredensborg and others).

§2. The Guinean troops will comprise the following force:

3 European officers (lieutenants to the troops), 1 sergeant, 8 non-commissioned officers and 90 privates

which might be distributed in the following way:

In the chief fort: 1 lieutenant (chief of guard), 1 sergeant, 4 non-commissioned officers, 50 privates

[229] Fort Prinsensten:	1 lieutenant,	1 non-commissioned officer,	20 privates
Station Kongensten	1	“	2 “
“ Fredensborg	1	”	2 ”
Temporarily mustered and stationed:			
1 lieutenant	1	“	16 “

§3. Available in the weapon depot: of battery and artillery:

- 3 12-pound, 22 calibre long gun-metal cannons
- 24 3-pound, 16 calibre long gun-metal “
- 2 10-pound gun-metal howitzer
- 2 3-pound “ “
- 6 1-pound, 21 calibre long gun-metal amusettes

This artillery will be distributed in the following manner:

The chief fort:

On the flag battery 3 12-pound and 6 3-pound cannons

- “ sea battery 3 3-pound “
- “ North-west battery 4 3-pound “
- “ *courtine* above the gate 2 10-pound howitzer

Fort Prinsensten:

For its 4 batteries: 2 cannons per battery = 8 3-pound cannons

For expeditions inland and for temporary stations, stored in the depot:

- 2 3-pound howitzer (on light gun carriages)
- 6 1-pound amusettes

Since the gun carriages must provide an enduring and solid base for mounting the cannons, and wooden gun carriages would easily deteriorate and require frequent repairs and often have to be replaced, the weapons must be mounted on carriages of cast iron with iron pins. Thus the depot should include:

CLOSING THE BOOKS

- 3 gun carriages of cast iron for 12-pound, 22 calibre long gun-metal cannons
- 24 Gribeauval²⁰⁴ carriages of cast iron for 3-pound, 16 calibre long gun-metal cannons
- 6 Gribeauval carriages of cast iron for 1-pound, 21 calibre long gun-metal cannons
- 2 gun carriages of cast iron for 2 10-pound gun- metal howitzers

All weapons should be handled with care and should be maintained in the best way. Gun carriages should be examined [230] daily. Where rust appears, due to corrosion by exposure to air, the affected area should be rubbed with coal tar. Once every quarter all the gun carriages should be tarred, by the coal tar being applied with a cloth and not by paint.

The Establishment would, if the abovementioned artillery has been mounted in accordance with what has been described, be protected from attacks from the inland, which only could happen by an enemy that cannot employ or manage cannons. Should circumstances, in time, require arming at the seaside of the chief fort, the battery of the outwork of the fort will be able to receive 7 cannons of the heaviest calibre.

For inland expeditions, in case of unrest or uproar among the Negroes of the Establishment, the depot could supply to the expedition corps: 2 3-pound gun-metal howitzers on easy driven gun carriages, whose separate parts in case of marches in the mountains could be dismantled and easily transported. If at any time an attack from the inland towards the Establishment and its Negro tribes should occur, for example by the Ashantis, such an extraordinary situation would require extraordinary equipment, since such an attack must be prepared and thus be reported long before it takes place, [and] adequate counter-measures could be taken.

Ammunition that must be available at the depot:

12-pound bullets	150 pieces
12-pound grapeshot	50 “
3-pound bullets	600 “
3-pound <i>kardetsker</i> [cartridge boxes with bullets]	200 “

²⁰⁴ Jean Baptiste Vanquette Gribeauval, French engineer and officer (1715-89), introduced many improvements into the artillery.

3- pound shells	500	“
10- pound shells	100	“
10-pound iron <i>kardetsker</i>	50	“
1-pound bullets	300	“
1-pound sheet metal <i>kardetsker</i>	100	“
10,000 16 <i>lod</i> [250 g] musket bullets		
20 barrels cannon powder		
1 barrels musket powder		
4000 ball musket cartridges		

All missiles are kept in cartons, and if necessary – covered with coal tar. In the depot there should not be found - unless extraordinary circumstances should require the opposite - missiles with attached or artificially loaded with gun powder, since the latter would quickly be made useless by the humidity and the heat. [231] On the other hand, the personnel are taught how to make powder pouches [*karduser*] and cartridges, and how to fill the grenades.

The storage of gunpowder at the depot is estimated to 20 barrels, of which 12 barrels are consumed annually at the chief fort when the guard salutes morning and evening with 3-pound gun-metal cannons with 1 ½-pound of powder in each shot. Salutes from the chief fort, the consumption at Fort Prinsensten, the training of the artillery, altogether, will consume 8 barrels of gunpowder. The depot should be supplied annually with the mentioned 20 barrels of cannon powder. If unexpected events should occasion a more extensive use of powder, local merchants would easily supply what is lacking.

Regarding the ball musket cartridges, the storage is 4,000. For the exercise of the troops in sharp shooting, cartridges will be made on the site.

§4. Appliances for the artillery available in the depot:

6	12-pound	loading poles with wipers
1	“	“ wormers [<i>Falkenters</i>] on a stick
2	“	“ loading shovels on a pole
36	3-	“ loading poles with wipers
4	“	“ wormers on a stick
8	“	“ loading shovels on a pole
3	10-	“ howitzer
3	3-	“ “ “

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9 1- “ loading poles with wipers
3 1 “ wormers on a pole
3 1 “ loading shovels “
18 hand nails for 12-pound cannons
80 “ “ 3-pound “ and others
24 loading sticks
Cleansing and cartridge nails for various calibres
4 12- pound canon chapels of local wood
30 3- pound “ “ “ “
Lead cover to howitzers and 1-pound amusettes
6 powder barrels [*barilliers*]
12 metal containers
3 sets powder measures
12 powder horns
12 cartridge pouches
1 jack
spanners for the gun carriages
4 barrels of coal tar
20 bundles of fuses[232]
cartridge paper for cartridges
etamine [canvas] “ “
50 bundles of ignition torches [*vindlys*]

§5. Available in the depot of armament and uniforms of the troops:

150 pieces of fluted hunter-percussion muskets with bayonets and sheaths
25 “ pistols with percussion
150 “ gunslings
150 “ loaded nipples
150 “ cartridge pouches on waist belts
150 “ waist belts (sword belt) with brass straps
150 “ percussion cap pouches to fasten to the waist belt
150 “ *Hirschfengere* [sabres] on shoulder straps
200 *alen* red cloth for the uniforms of the troops
60 “ light blue cloth for collars and cuffs and hats
20 “ finer red cloth for borders on the hats
4000 “ linen cloth
3000 “ platilles
200 “ blue topsay
400 pairs of shoes
600 dozen buttons
Peaks, straps, lining, rosettes, etc. for 400 military caps
10 swords for non-commissioned officers with brass sheaths

10 bags with brass furnishing for non-commissioned officers
 10 pair of epaulettes (red and light blue) for non-commissioned officers
 10 sword knots for non-commissioned officers
 6 drums, 6 wooden pipes
 1 pole for banner with ropes and knots
 Accessories: percussion caps, paper for cartridges, bullet forms, reserve materials
 for repair of muskets

§6. The troops are uniformed and armed in the following way:

Daily uniform: White (linen cloth) jacket with collar and cuffs of blue topsay, one row of buttons. White trousers, light blue hats and shoes.
 Dress uniform: Red cloth jacket with one row of buttons, light blue collars with cuffs, white trouser light blue hats and shoes
 Arms: Musket with bayonet; waist belt with cartridge pouch and bayonet sheaths and percussion pouch; on marches: Hirschfænger on shoulder strap.

§7. Annual salaries and support of the Guinean troops are estimated as follows: [233]

Permanent salaries:

3 European officers a 300 Rdl.g.Ct. annually	900 Rdl.g.Ct. — <i>dam</i>
1 sergeant á \$4 a month \$48 annually	57 “ “ 30 “
8 non-commissioned officers á \$4 “ “ \$36 “ “	346 “ “ “ 30 “
90 privates á \$2 “ “ \$24 “ “	2,592 “ “ “ -- “
Sum	3,896 Rdl.g.Ct. 10 <i>dam</i>

Supplementary salaries:

1 European officer, commanding at Fort Prinsensten annually	200 Rdl.g.Ct.
— <i>dam</i>	
1 non-commissioned officer at Prinsensten \$1 a month \$12 “	14 “ “ “ 20 “
20 privates at Prinsensten á \$1/2 a month \$6 annually	144 “ “ ” - “
1 non-commissioned officer at Kongensten á \$1 monthly	
\$12 annually	14 “ “ “ 20 “
2 privates at Kongensten á \$1/2 monthly 6 annually	14 “ “ “ 20 “
1 non-commissioned officer at Fredensborg á \$1 monthly	
\$12 annually	14 “ “ “ 20 “
2 privates at Fredensborg á \$1/2 monthly \$6 annually	14 “ “ “ 20 “
1 soldier at Augustaborg á \$1/2 monthly \$6 annually	7 “ “ “ 10 “
1 non-commissioned officer stationed at the hills á \$12 annually	14 “ “ “ 20 “

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15 privates similar á \$ ½ monthly, \$6 annually	108 “ “ “ - “
1 private, in addition as regiment tambour [drummer], \$1month.	14 “ “ 20 “
Sum	560 Rdl.g.Ct. - <i>dam</i>

Permanent salaries in the depot	3,896 Rdl.g.Ct. 10 <i>dam</i>
Supplementary salaries outside the depot	560 “ “ “ - “
Sum	4,456 Rdl.g.Ct. 10 <i>dam</i>

§ 8. The uniforms of the Guinean troops amount to per annum:

For daily uniform, twice a year á 8 <i>alen</i> a month = 1600 <i>alen</i> linen cloth	224 Rdl. g.Ct.
Shirts twice a year á 5 <i>alen</i> monthly 1000 <i>alen</i> platilles	140 “ “ “
For collars and cuffs of same á ½ <i>alen</i> per person 100 <i>alen</i>	
Topsay	14 “ “ “
[234]	
For red uniform once every second year (estimated to an annual cost divided in two):	
100 <i>alen</i> red cloth (for jackets)	140 “ “ “
12 ½ “ light blue “ (for jacket cuff and collar)	25 “ “ “
200 “ platilles for lining	28 ” ” ”
For shoes á 2 pair annually, 200 pair of shoes	280 “ “ “
“ buttons á 2 dozen a year and 3 dozen every second year	
250 dozen á year	100 “ “ “
For caps (once a year) 100 hats	100 “ “ “
Sum	1051 Rdl.g.Ct.

§ 9. The annual consumption of ammunition and some equipment estimated to:

Powder (cannons) for guard's shot, salutes, Fort Prinsensten, for exercise, etc. 20 barrels	340 Rdl.g.Ct.
Musket powder for exercise of troops, etc. 1 barrel	17 “ “ “
For flag at the chief fort and other stations, for coal tar, lightment, etc.	200 “ “ “
Sum	557 Rdl.g.Ct.

§10. The total expense of the troop and weapon depot of the Establishment.

Ordinary annual expenses, salaries	4456 Rdl.g.Ct. 10 <i>dam</i>
uniforms	1051 “ “ “ -
ammunition, etc.	557 “ “ “
Sum	6064 Rdl.g.Ct. 10 <i>dam</i>

§11. Extraordinary expenses for the troop and weapon depot might be occasioned partly by extraordinary equipment and military precautions against an eventual attack, partly by wear and tear of the material of the depot. Only of the lastmentioned expenses can an approximate estimate be made, when reliable information on the durability here of the various parts of the military depot is available. It is obvious that the supply of the depot of a material with great solidity, with durability against climatic influences, that the careful maintenance of this material would affect the extraordinary expenses in regard to its maintenance. [235]

§12. The governor is obliged to ensure that the troop and weapon depot is kept completely in an effective condition in close accordance with what has been said above, and that, unless necessary, no changes in the regulations be made.

§13. Instructions for the officer who functions as chief of guard at the chief fort, will completely state the duties, which are imposed on the mentioned officer in regard to the exercise of the troops and the service of the garrison. That same officer is given the necessary regulation for the order and maintenance of the weapon depot in those instructions. He gives monthly reports to the governor on what has been done in or for the troops and weapon depot.

§14. The accounts of the troops and weapon depot are kept in accordance with the stated regulations of the Instruction for the management of the Establishment.

1 June 1846

To a certain extent Denmark should maintain law and order within her Guinean possessions. Thus Fort Prinsensten should be repaired at once, and smaller stations established temporarily when needed, for the time being at Akropong, Fort Kongensten and the Krobbo lagoon town. A supervisor should be stationed at Fort Fredensborg. The cost of these measures.

G.J. 385/1846, filed under 43/1850; duplicate 64/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 1 June 1846

The letter of the distinguished Board of 27 December was, as for Fort Prinsensten, answered on 30 March this year. In this post detailed information concerning the letter of 30 March, will be sent. Fort Kongensten and everything associated with it will here be subjected to the consideration of the Establishment.

In order that the Establishment should be able to maintain law and order in the extensive Danish-Guinean possessions, a beginning must be made for a distribution of judiciary in the country considered to be suitable for the degree of authority [236] that the Establishment should to maintain over the tribes, and in accordance with the economic conditions prescribed for the Establishment in the administration of the country.

The European establishments in Guinea, and most of all the Danish-Guinean ones, are a burden to their home countries. If they are not maintained for commercial reasons, they are retained with the hope of better trading conditions in time, [and] with the hope that the introduction of culture and civilization among the Negroes will give rise to cultivation of colonial products and the trade and commerce connected to that.

The Establishment must be prepared, through administrative measures, to protect works of civilization, to open, smooth out and secure the way for private establishments in furthering culture and civilization.

A complete occupation of the country is not needed for this purpose. Economic considerations prevent that. But the administration of the country should be organized in such a way as to make possible a complete occupation and the measures connected to it, should be carried out in accordance with the demands of the time. For that reason the administration will have to see to it continuously that an active beneficial influence on the inhabitants is maintained, that the Establishment is esteemed, and considered to be most supreme in the country, appointed by the King.

As the conditions have developed over the later years, the Establishment maintains a generally acknowledged supervision of the Negro tribes that are under the sovereignty of the King. This

supervision should be organized and strengthened, and not until then will the Establishment be able to give the promised protection to the suppressed Negro, be he free or slave, [and] be able to decide over political issues, before they become disputes. Furthermore, when such a desirable, active and rich enterprise takes hold in the country, it will find in the power and prestige of the Establishment, the necessary and indispensable protection.

The above, applied to the question of the maintenance of the forts Prinsensten and Kongensten, will speak decisively in favour of maintenance, fortification and garrisoning of Fort Prinsensten as the *eastern* frontier of the possession, as Christiansborg occupies the *western* frontier. The forts Christiansborg and [237] Prinsensten should be regarded as the permanent localities of the possessions, while smaller military posts at the coast or inland, which are considered necessary for administrative reasons, should be considered as temporary with regard to location and construction, in accordance with police stations founded in keeping with the demands of the time.

A survey of the main parts of the Danish-Guinean possessions shows the necessity of the distribution of such a police, which can inform the authorities in the main fort on local conditions, immediately carry out the decrees of the fort in matters of debt, fines, etc.

Akim country and its rulers are kept in dependence by having Ashanti as neighbour and need the friendship of the Europeans too much to forfeit it through breach of law and disorder. Next we have the Akuapem country, long a prey to internal strife, but whose newly organized state should be permanently supervised, the Krobbo country, the Ussu-Doku with Shay, the towns along the higher bank of the Volta, and the Augna country beyond the Volta. When judicial disputes from important political matters to more insignificant ones on debts were brought before the Establishment, the parties were summoned to Christiansborg. If one party was unwilling to appear (which often required a long journey), very often the case had to be left undecided, and the authority of the Establishment was compromised accordingly. The remote situation of the main fort at the extreme western frontier of the possessions, the disobedience brought about by the distance, and the lack of fear of the decrees of the fort, must be remedied.

Those stations that are unattached to the main fort are to be placed

at such points in the country where a numerous population, political considerations, etc., speak for continuous supervision, combined with means of compulsion in case of certain offences or disorder. Such stations are to be fitted up and constructed as economically as possible; a building with 2 small rooms on the upper floor, and rooms for arrests, etc. underneath, surrounding wall, a gate with a guard room. Against the inhabitants of the country such a station (even armed with a couple of 1-pound cannons) will not in case of war be able to withstand an unexpected attack, [238] but it must be remembered that the fear of and respect for the main fort when its power is expanded and distributed will be so great that only under very special circumstances will they dare to violate the residence of a supervisor when the Danish flag flies over it.

The Akuapem country especially is perceived to require closer supervision by the Establishment. A station should be established in or at Akropong, which will not only consolidate the influence of the Establishment, but also the prestige of a well disposed cabuceer.

Between Prinsensten and Christiansborg there should be a station, sparsely manned (1 non-commissioned officer and 2 men), but affording room for greater manning in case of expeditions, journeys, proper jails, etc. The location of Fort Kongensten is suitable for this purpose, and the ruins might be used in the following way: All the walls of the upper floor of the residence should be torn down, stone and bricks used to build a surrounding wall to replace the *courtines* of the gate and to the north. All roofing [*platninger*] over the necessary residences and jails under the batteries should be repaired, a couple of old cannons should be mounted.

A station in the Krobbo lagoon town (the location mentioned in the reports of the Establishment of 24 September 1845) is most desirable, and the Establishment hopes that the establishment of the station at Akuapem and of the station of Kongensten, through the usefulness in comparison with the small expense, will also bring about the occupation of the Krobbo lagoon.

The small distance between the Fort Fredensborg and Christiansborg makes the use of the former unnecessary. As, however, with insignificant expense, the guard rooms, the gate and the ring wall, can be maintained, the total abandoning of Fredensborg should be avoided, and a supervisor should still be stationed there.

Included in the outline for a change of budget for these possessions are the expenses, which will be necessary every year for the maintenance with manning, etc. of the stations Kongensten, Fredensborg and Akropong. The number of troops indicated in the budget will still be able to furnish the garrison for the Krobbo lagoon town.

Since the garrison of Fort Prinsensten will be commanded by a European officer, as the service of the fort demands a European [239] officer as chief of guard, etc. a third European officer will by turns be appointed temporarily to the various stations. Besides, the other officers of the Establishment, when the service in the chief fort would allow it, would in the stations at Akropong and Krobbo lagoon town find a supposedly healthier residence where, through temporary sojourns, they might at the same time safeguard local interests.

In case of an inspection tour in the country by the Establishment, and such [a tour] should take place at least every second year, the abovementioned stations will determine the itinerary and places where assemblies might be held.

The establishment of all the stations, as indicated above, will not need so great a sum as the repair of Kongensten alone, as a fort, would require. The establishment of a single station may be estimated to 1,000 Rdl. g. Ct., and that sum would even not be needed if such materials are used as are found locally (for example, at Akuapem roofing, etc. of wood, shavings, staves or palm leaves, by which the costly lime could be dispensed with).

As the execution of the above measures (including also the restoration of Fort Prinsensten) will take some years, the cost of the same will be distributed, thus to no great extent increasing the total expenses of the annual budget of the possessions.

The Establishment has now fully replied to the letter of the Board of 27 December 1845, and recommends this important matter to the decision of the Board.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

3 June 1846

Captain Dideriksen, who sold the Flensburg schooner Atalanta, is now carrying on his trade under the cover of the flag of Hamburg.

G.J. 386/1846; duplicate 65/ 1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 3 June 1846

When, on 9 July 1846, I reported to the distinguished Board a rumour regarding Captain Dideriksen, I was of the opinion [240] that the facts about if and where this action by the brig *Atalanta* of Flensburg took place, could probably be documented at the home port of the brig. Captain Dideriksen is now continuing the trade, on behalf of the Hamburg house Sontag, mostly between Whydah and Sierra Leone, using only Hamburg ships. He arrived here in the roads last year at the same time as the naval brig *Ørnen*, with a Hamburg brig and a schooner bought in Sierra Leone, both carrying Hamburg flag. The cargo was legal, mostly cauris (a very attractive article for the purchase of slaves here on the Coast).

The cautiousness with which the very profitable trade is carried out (even by the English), to sell condemned slave ships back to the slave trader, often prevents the action from being exposed. If, however, a Danish subject, on the coast of Guinea, mainly close to the known slave markets, should dispose of a Danish ship or a slave ship condemned in Sierra Leone or somewhere else, and which he provided with a Danish flag, his situation will immediately be investigated and reported. As noted above, Dideriksen is, for the time being carrying only Hamburg flag.

Edw. Carstensen

9 June 1846

The Council has decided to build an official residence outside Christiansborg, because the flats within the fort are unhealthy. The Council wishes to build another three houses. For the Europeans it is necessary to have closed galleries. A suitable location will be at Frederiksberg. The total cost of the construction of all three houses is estimated to 3,500 Rdl., and W. Lutterodt

has undertaken to build the first house for 750 Rdl. Guinean Courant. G.J. 383/1846, filed under 267/1852; duplicate 62/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 9 June 1846

From case no. 48/1846 in the Council Protocol, the Board will learn that the local Establishment has arrived at the conclusion that the official flats of Fort Christiansborg are both unhealthy and uncomfortable and at times unsuitable, and also that we have decided not to petition that all the dwellings should be moved, [241] but also, with the acceptance of an approval of the Board, to enter into a contract on building a residence of the sum of 750 Rdl. g. Ct. Since, however, we found that this important case for the Establishment, could not be covered in the Council Protocol, which it belonged, we decided to write to the Board, and as a matter of duty, we forward to the Board a presentation on the case.

When founding Fort Christiansborg, as was the case with the other forts, apparently forced by the circumstances, the aspect of fortification was paramount, and it is only during recent years that attention has begun to focus on the fort providing living quarters for the servants who administered the possessions. The original type of building and the regard which must be taken, in any case, that the change must, of necessity, not harm the foundations or that additions could not be carried by it, has resulted in, and still will cause, insurmountable hindrances in making suitable and healthy buildings in the fort; since here, among other things, closed galleries can never be built, which in a tropical climate are absolutely necessary. Without closed galleries, no European can be out in fresh air during the day, since he will expose himself to the beams of the burning sun, which in the fort would be felt twofold in strength because of their reflection on the white walls, which, as soon as they are totally heated by the sun, as well, would make the stay inside the rooms warmer than any other places. When raining, the lack of closed galleries forces everybody in the fort to close all the openings, so that the strong rainstorm does not flood the rooms. At the same time as closing out the rain, one is also closing out the fresh air and the light. The last-mentioned lack can partly and still be helped

by glass windows, but fresh air can only be achieved in a building that is supplied with a closed gallery, and such a thing cannot be built at the fort, because, in spite of military considerations, the foundations are too weak, and besides, such an addition would create *considerable* expenses.

As is known, the rainy season is the most dangerous season for the Europeans, and taking into consideration what has been said here about the living quarters, and keeping in mind that only 10 years ago the flats 242| were far better, then perhaps we have a decisive reason for the high mortality that the Danish-Guinean Establishment experiences, and still not everything has yet been presented.

As last reported in the declaration of the Establishment of 18 March, the main reason for the unhealthiness of the fort must be sought in its immediate proximity to the sea, resulting in constant exposure to the harmful sea fog. During the night, and otherwise during periods of calm, every corner is penetrated and everywhere traces of its damaging powers are seen, and even if the fresh sea winds disperse it in the morning, it cannot drive through the whole building with its full power, since the building of the fort in a square often would leave one or two sides in lee.

These are the reasons for the conviction of the Establishment that the fort, more than most other places, produces an unhealthy residence for the Europeans, and since we do not doubt that the Board will be able to give them proper weight, we shall, only briefly, add the other things the civil servants lack while subjected to living in the fort.

Usually the situation here on the Coast makes it necessary that every servant keeps his own complete household, and for this, more than in the countryside in Europe, a considerable quantity of poultry and small animals are a requirement. And since the roofing [*platninger*] from where the water for the cistern is collected, must be kept very clean, animals must not be kept, neither here nor in the yard, since that would be a breach of the military order and cleanliness considered necessary.

Thus the servants of the fort are, in this regard, compelled to move either the outwork where the sharp air so far has proved to be fatal, or to hire room in town, where the disposition of the Negroes to thievery, will expose them to loss or at least to daily annoyances. Adding to this that the fort, for the time being, lacks sufficient kitchens necessary for

all the civil servants, and that these, now that the regular number are present in the fort, only have 2 comparatively small rooms each, so it is, I think, obvious that the living quarters only poorly comply with what is either regarded as suitable or what the servants have been used to consider as necessary living [conditions] at home. One needs not add that the present dwellings are not fit [243] for a married man. However, although some catechists have been living there, earlier, with wife and family, this in no way gives grounds for anticipating that this still could or should happen. Although it is impossible to know how many bitter hours the daily loss of almost any accustomed comfort have been to those families, it should not be forgotten that in most cases death soon ended their life together. Thus by and large it must be remembered that regulations on the future conditions in Guinea, it is only little, yes indeed, very little of the old that can be retained, and that the regulation on civil residences in the fort does not belong among that very little, should be proven by the above.

When we here have discussed the civil residences in general, it must be noted, in order to avoid misunderstanding, that the residence of the governor, with regard to number of rooms, size and equipment, etc. fulfil what, at present, can be reasonably expected, although, in every way, it suffers from the other faults noted above. The reason why the Establishment does not here mention the much complained about lagoon in the petition of Battalion Surgeon Hansen and Catechist Mühlensteth, is to be found in the statement of 18 March, and although we have not found any reason to change opinion later, it should be mentioned that even though the mephitic emanation is not felt by everybody, its existence and harmful effects cannot be categorically denied; thus it should be left to the Board to decide what significance the proximity of this lagoon might have in the decision of the present case.

Although the Establishment may conclude that the above does not really contain anything new to the Board, since a transfer of the site for the Establishment's civil servants has been considered earlier, we still felt that these conditions should again be brought to mind, that a move is not only desirable but almost absolutely necessary.

Earlier when a move was considered, which the letter of the Establishment of 20 February 1837 indicates, it was always considered

as necessary to build a complete fort, where all the servants could have living quarters, and where the necessary store rooms could be maintained as well, and it is probably because of²⁰⁵ this that the cost has run up to the sum of [244] 150,000 Spd., in addition to an unexpected increase in the annual expenses, and because of these calculations the plan has so far been abandoned. A move of 2 to 3 Danish miles inland is not the intention now, since it will always result in a considerable increase in expenses without showing any particular benefit. [Further] it will cause several inconveniences, among which, not the least, that the Establishment will be cut off from contact with the ships that enter the Coast, and therefore it is not recommended that the administration should be completely removed from the main fort and the coast; furthermore, as it is not proven whether the climate, with all its frequent changes up in the hills, would be more healthy than on the coast, when just its immediate vicinity is avoided.

As declared in the last statement of the Establishment of 18 March, the present Frederiksberg represents the most healthy residence that is obtainable here on the Coast. Assuming that this building should be sufficiently expanded in the future, that it could be used as residence for the governor, so, also, could 4 official residences for the other servants be built up on the hill where Frederiksberg is located. The hill on which Frederiksberg is located is almost $\frac{1}{4}$ Danish mile from the beach and has an exceptionally open location, so that one can enjoy both the sea wind and the land wind without being bothered with the sea fog. This can, in fact, be seen by how metal is maintained far better than in the fort, where, in no time, it is destroyed in spite of careful maintenance. By building up on this hill, every servant can have his own residence, and especially where a married man can avoid the embarrassing living condition in the fort. Each residence should also be supplied with a yard and a garden, so the present, so deeply felt loss of every convenience would be remedied.

Admittedly Frederiksberg lacks water. But in spite of that, which so far as it concerns the consumption of the animals and the garden, partly could be helped by having water holes dug, and considering the present situation and the number of people, it should not at any time be regarded as inconvenient to have the necessary water for personal and

²⁰⁵ [Spd. = speciedaler, i.e. worth 2 rixdaler or courantdaler].

household use fetched from the cistern at the fort. Furthermore, as every one of the civil servants, even if done of necessity, must come to the fort daily to perform the necessary tasks which must be done, we are of the opinion that that hill [245] fulfils all the demands that can be made for a building site.

All that remains, it is to find out if the expenses, again, will place obstructions in the way of the so long desired move.

To undertake the proposed construction work by the help of the villeins, the Establishment did not find advisable, because daily experience confirms the conviction that this would be the most expensive, the poorest and slowest way to work, and since we expect the Board to consider the suggestion of freeing the villeins, we have left them absolutely out of the project. To present a complete estimate of the expenses of the abovementioned buildings is not possible, because most of the material, such as stone, lime and timber are not trading goods, but are mostly procured by the local people brought by the builder himself. However, by drawing a plan of what the building should look like, and by comparing with similar buildings that have been built here in town, and the cost of those, we ended with the result that the 4 civil residences could be built for something like 800 Rdl. g. Ct. each, and the proposed expansion of Frederiksberg would cost ca. 300 Rdl., in short a total sum of 3,500 Rdl. g. Ct. or 5,600 Rbd. in silver.

With the working force available in this place, we realized that it might be impossible to build more than one house a year, and as the cost would be divided over several (four) years; it will not equal the whole sum the Establishment feels would be saved by the abolition of the villeins, the correctness of which we have even less reason to doubt than before.

When the case had come that far, we addressed some of the men believed to be willing to undertake the enterprise, and among these W. Lutterodt, who is appointed by the Establishment as an associate at the office, said he was willing immediately to build one of the houses for the payment of 750 Rdl. g. Ct. So the request [quotation] of the Establishment proved to be right, and now the only question was if we should postpone the case until the decision of the Board was received or make use of the market situation. As shown by the Council Protocol, we chose the last option, mainly caused by the fact that by following

the other procedure [246] we would have lost one year, so that the first building could not expected to be habitable before 1848. But in a case of this nature, where any obstacle might have incalculable results, we were of the opinion that a deviation from the regulations of the instruction could not be considered blameworthy, and have thus entered into a contract for the building of an official residence on the hill at Frederiksberg, and recommend the case for a favourable resolution by the Board. If the Board, contrary to all expectations, should not approve or even disapprove of the submitted contract on building a civil residence, I, Bergenhammer, will allow myself to request that the expenses incurred by the construction should be regarded as a debt resting with the office of second assistant, which will be paid in instalments and with interests, similar to building debts in Denmark, naturally, on condition that the house would be an official residence. True, I do not hold that office and do not in any way ignore the fact that a considerable burden on the office in case of approval, but the conviction of that a good and healthy residence will be provided for a civil servant, leaves me in no doubt that those who will follow me in the office will accept that burden by which their life and well being are secured, as far as it is humanly capable of being done here.

Since the catechist employed by the Establishment shall teach in the school daily, the fact has not been overlooked that by receiving an official residence at Frederiksberg, [he] will get a considerable hot and uncomfortable journey, but since this inconvenience, in time, will be remedied by building a school close to his official residence, this circumstance has not been given any particular consideration. Furthermore, it is, at present, under discussion if it would not be more convenient to have the whole school education and the church services under the Basel missionaries, where circumstances already have forced the beginning of a girls' school.

From the hereby attached drawing, the Board will see that in the buildings there has been an attempt to fulfil the demands any educated man would have for his residence: But these demands are also believed to have been fulfilled, since the surrounding gallery should be regarded as an essential part of the building's living area. Any [247] fortification around the buildings is not necessary, since the vicinity of the fort would, for the most part, offer the necessary security during ordinary circumstances, and should particular circumstances occur, such as the

immediate vicinity of the fort becoming a scene of war, then, besides the houses providing a good place for outposts, due to their construction, the civil servants could take temporary refuge in the fort itself, since the main station and the depot of the possessions must always be kept in good order.

Since the hill where the houses are to be built neither belongs to any private nor communal [institution], the necessary building and garden site can be taken without payment, noted here as a matter of course.

It is natural that whenever there is talk of doing something for the future of Guinea, the question must arise, now and then, should, or will, Denmark still want to keep the possessions? The answer of *should* is not relevant here, and with regard to the other part of the question, this is apparently for the time being decided by the royal declaration of 2 August 1844²⁰⁶ of the Establishment; thus the Establishment believes it has the unquestionable encouragement to work with all its strength for the future. Without that encouragement, in all likelihood the lethargy that is so readily invited by the climate and the circumstances will soon win with increased strength, not only in the possessions, but perhaps also in the administration itself.

In this case one dares to hope that it will always be kept in mind that it is about human life and the well being of humans, and should also a regard to money matters nevertheless be taken into consideration, it is surely obvious that the intended houses would be a benefit rather than a hindrance for a planned sale.

It is with these remarks the Establishment once again has the honour, as a matter of duty, to propose to the Board a case whose [248] decision is awaited with longing, though waiting with the most complete assurance that it will find an even more serious consideration as one attended to by the interests of the decision.

Edw. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

²⁰⁶ In a letter of 2 August 1844 the Board informed the Establishment with an extract of the royal resolution of 30 July same year, where it was stated that for the time being no negotiations or thoughts of any considerations regarding a transfer of the possessions in Guinea to any foreign power, nor to terminate them should be observed; the question of whether to allow a friendly power to occupy the territory east of Volta, should be left idle, and a plan for the activities of the Basel Mission and a plan for a change in the economic management of the possessions, should be worked out.

9 June 1846

By order the Establishment has made a plan for the economical administration of the Danish possessions in Guinea. Prior to this, Schumacher and Bergenhammer have given their individual opinions. The aim of the Establishment is said to be the maintenance of the territorial rights, which, in the opinion of the Establishment, are somewhat problematic. The Establishment should be in a position to permit foreigners to settle within the Danish territories, and trade regulations should be altered. The aim is not the introduction of Danish law, but the European residents should be subject to a local court of law, and the governor entitled to pass death sentences and have them executed. The accounts should be simplified. Villeins should be freed and the trade of the government abolished. The catechist's right to offerings should be more clearly defined, and the question of allowances for retiring officials taken up for discussion. Even if the possessions are a burden to the Danish government, a proper administration must not be neglected. G.J. 384/1846, filed under 43/1850; duplicate 63/ 1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 9 June 1946

In accordance with royal order, by a letter of 2 August 1844, the Board has, among other things, ordered the Establishment to work out and forward to the Board a plan for a change in the economic administration, on which occasion the writer of this letter, Governor Carstensen, drafted and forwarded to the Board a proposal for a new regulation. This, besides some editorial changes in the former regulation, included the following changes, namely: 1) abolition of the villein system, 2) suspension of trade on public account, and 3) increase in salaries for some of the officials and the soldiers.

This proposal, which on the whole was approved by the then member of the Council, G. Lutterodt, was forwarded to the Board on 18 March last year. But as yet no resolution has been made, [249] and as it was found appropriate that the appointed servants should have an opportunity to express their opinion on this important case, the Establishment has again, by request, taken the matter under consideration and enclosed the co-signatories Schumacher's and Bergenhammer's statements in the

case²⁰⁷. As it will appear from these statements, there are no differences of opinion regarding the main points, and the differences that might occur would consequently only concern details where presumably an agreement might easily be found, or where at least the Board will be able to make a decision.

Since Bergenhammer has thought it better to submit the main points to the decision of the Board before special regulations are being worked out and discussed, and thus has deviated from my (Carstensen's) usual procedure, I have, rather, by approving of this view, wanted all the provisions drafted by me to be discussed by the whole Establishment. That the advantages and the disadvantages of the main principles would stand out more clearly when the special regulations are worked out, should not be overlooked, so that is why I, Carstensen, have followed my usual procedure. As the Board agrees on the main principles, and as such also the four drawn up by Bergenhammer, we should now as a matter of duty be able to express ourselves on the matter.

Concerning the aim of the management of the present possessions here, the regulation of 30 September 1820 has indicated the same intention, that is, to guard the territorial rights of His Majesty the King over the Negro tribes that carry a Danish flag. But the fact that Denmark has no "territorial right" outside the forts, has been shown in detail in the statement of Bergenhammer, and has also often been pointed at by me, Carstensen, notably in my report to the Board of 20 November last year, for which reason I, Carstensen, also in my suggestion allowed myself some changes in the respective paragraphs, although, without abolishing the word "territorial rights". As this expression, however, might easily be misunderstood and cause confusion, the Establishment is of the opinion that it should be totally left out, so that the expression [250] used by Bergenhammer in his declaration²⁰⁸, is made to state what the Establishment in future should consider to be its aim.

With regard to the way in which the former regulations of 1820 have

²⁰⁷ The two extensive declarations, one by Bergenhammer dated 10 January, and one by Schumacher dated 24 May 1846, are actually enclosed in the governor's report G.J. 384/1846.

²⁰⁸ Bergenhammer writes that it is not sufficient that the governor has abolished the "salaries" to the native chiefs, which he actually considers as a tribute. If we are talking of a Danish sovereignty in Africa, then the natives should be objects of taxation and brought to obey Danish law and order.

allocated the actual management, nothing has been found necessary to bear in mind, and the regulations will be more or less be maintained. That the Establishment should have authority to give permission to strangers to establish trade posts under Danish flag, is considered very desirable, since it cannot but be considered as an advantage for the possessions without in any way harming Denmark, which, thereby, would gain new and enterprising citizens, as it is a matter of course that those who thus establish themselves must be regarded as subjects of the country.

As §18 in the regulations of 30 September 1820 cannot well be brought into harmony with the letter of the Board to Governor Mørck of 28 August 1838²⁰⁹, it is probably desirable to revise the provisions for trade completely.

In Bergenhammer's declaration the legal conditions of the possessions are fully treated and although the Establishment cannot fully approve of all that is said on this occasion, it is without doubt that in this respect there are to be found serious defects and much is lacking, all of which ought to be remedied as soon as possible, and as the measures requested by Bergenhammer aim at repairing these defects in an adequate way, the Establishment must subscribe to them as a whole. When, in time, the specified provisions are worked out, the Establishment will reserve the right to express itself on whether there has been sufficient regard to local conditions and established practice.

It should not be overlooked, in this part of the case, that the idea is not to introduce Danish legislation among the Negro tribes, which Schumacher's declaration shows [251] would be the wrong thing to do, but to state explicitly, without any doubt, that the servants of the colony and the Europeans living here are subject to Danish law, and then to establish a court as a necessary consequence of that decision.

What the Establishment fully agrees is necessary is that the governor, as proposed by Bergenhammer, be given the right to execute death sentences. The previous events have shown the suitability of such a provision, and since that right has been granted to both the English,

²⁰⁹ On 28 August 1838, the Board's writing to Mørck to remind him, after a request from the Foreign Office, to refrain from any moves that might harm the trade of the British subjects on the Gold Coast, on the contrary, he should try to maintain a good relationship to the English governor at Cape Coast Castle. (Guinean copy book 596/1838).

French and the Dutch governors, presumably there would be no objection to its being granted to the Danish governor, especially as all the grounds that have brought the government to give the governor of the East Indies this right, are, to an even greater extent present here.

Regarding the accounts, Bergenhammer has sought to simplify and complete them in order to make them harmonize more than previously with the other official accounts and regulations in the general account arrangements of 8 July 1840²¹⁰. The Board will already have seen, from the previously forwarded transcript and the Negotiation Protocol, that the Establishment is in complete agreement in that respect, after which some changes have been made in regard to the accountancy, for which justification can be found in the abovementioned regulations.

Regarding all the numerous valuations which in the earlier regulation should be found in the account books of all the miscellaneous inventory, the Establishment ventures to assume that their omission will win approval by the Board, especially since the Board seems to be in agreement with the Establishment that precisely because all these figures are completely illusory, and thus would cause more harm than benefit because the accounts then would consist of figures whose monetary representations, whose inventories, in reality have much lower value. To keep the necessary control of the inventory, it is sufficient, in our opinion, that the person responsible should, every $\frac{1}{4}$ year, forward to the Establishment a record of all the necessary in- and out-going transactions, and when this inventory - with regard to the in-going transactions - is checked against the account books by the bookkeeper, [252] as well as with the previous inventories, the governor makes the decision on what has been going out, and what is needed, after which these are enclosed with the accounts as attachments, in accordance with the regulations of 30 September 1820 § 53B.

Questions in close connection with the bookkeeping and the economic situation are the retention of the villeins and the continuation of the public trade, in all probability, should be considered, and we should therefore treat them here. On 30 January this year the Establishment suggested to the Board that the villeins be freed at the end of the present year, basing this suggestion on the fact that as the villeins, or the slaves, are far more costly for the state to keep than they are private people,

²¹⁰ This regulation is printed in Schou's *Kgl. Forordninger og aabne Breve* XXIII, 136-76.

that as the public authorities could not supervise their slaves as well and as freely as private people could, and as the villeins usually, partly due to negligence and greed, would use more materials and many more tools than private slaves, then all the work that the villeins do for the state would become more costly than if it was undertaken as piece-work by free workers or contractors.

There is nothing to be added to those main reasons and to what otherwise was most humbly stated in the abovementioned letter, except that daily experience strengthens the conviction that it is inexpedient and costly for the state to continue to keep villeins.

The question of whether the public authorities shall continue to carry on trade, rests presumably, purely on whether that trade is an advantage to the state or necessary either for the possessions or for the civil servants.

If the trade has been of any advantage to the state, the Board will be in a better position to judge, but judging from the accounts, etc., the Establishment believes that the advantages at least have not been financial.

Just as the trade cannot be regarded as an advantage to the public authorities, it is not necessary for the possessions. A great many natives in the north-western part of the country address themselves to the trading stations in English Accra, where they both can dispose of their goods and get all they need, and those few, for whom Danish Ussu, near the fort, is the market place, can always [253] find buyers among the tradesmen who have established themselves there, and as all cotton materials and spirits which, along with iron, powder, lead, and flintlocks - the goods that the Negroes seem to want - can be sold as cheaply, sometimes even more cheaply than what is found in the warehouse, the result is that those goods are never sought out by the civil servants, who are the only ones to keep up the trade in the warehouse.

Some of the provisions the servants use in their households, they probably get from Denmark, but usually, only once a year there is a ship, so it is natural that they cannot get everything from there and the greater part of the provisions must be bought from the ships that arrive here, or from the trade stations, and as it is possible this way to get supplies of everything that are received from Denmark, the trade cannot for this reason be considered necessary.

The reason why the trade is not more considerable in Ussu is probably that this place has no connection with the mother country, because the Danish merchants have neither been able to find a market for the products of the mother country, nor any advantageous sale of the products of the possessions at home. But a contributory reason is probably also the admitted freedom of trade for the servants of goods that are sent out by the public authorities.

We should not here deal with the past, because it has no influence on the present case, but only examine whether this right to trade is in the public interest, i.e. the state. It should be obvious to all that as long as the right to trade is granted to the civil servants and is beneficial, it will go on, and all their work will then be divided between two different, often contradictory interests, namely the demands of public service and the advantages of trade.

If it is true that nobody can serve two masters, and experience also shows the regard for personal profit is often strongly predominant in human beings, and if one adds that all the concerns which, in Europe, have made it necessary to prohibit civil servants petty trade or commerce, can be fully applied here where the chief management is far away, and where one must constantly deal with children of nature who do not at any time know how to distinguish between the characteristics of public service and private activity, [254] then there can be no doubt that the right to trade is of no advantage to the state. It is probably also for this reason that England has completely prohibited her officials here in these colonies to carry on trade personally.

That trade formerly was of great benefit, and is still steadily so, is incontestable, and if the Establishment, in the interest of the public good, decides that the right to trade be taken away from the servants, it is natural also to investigate whether the servants can bear to lose those advantages without remuneration, and, although it makes for an uncomfortable position when treating of matters of a personal nature, it is believed that the reason given will be of such merit as to show the Board that these, and not personal regards, have been the guiding principle. When deciding about salaries it is natural to take into consideration only the work done and the position the servant is meant to have.

Regarding the first concern, it is shown that nothing is so difficult as

to evaluate the work of an official servant, and the Establishment would have to leave it to the Board to decide on that point. It is certain that the members of the Establishment Council, in keeping with the regulations of 30 September 1820, now hold a far more significant position than formerly, and since this significance should be increased as this and adjacent possessions progress in civilization and come to be occupied by Europeans, it should therefore be necessary that the government should enable all officials to live in a manner suitable to their positions. That this cannot be done with the present general salaries is beyond all doubt.

If the right to trade is abolished it is necessary that the servants must try to acquire all necessities themselves, and although they can do so, it might be at extremely high prices. One would have to reckon that a *pjaster*, the only currency here, is valued as only 1 Rbd. silver in Denmark, and it is then easy to see that the servants with the present prescribed salary, could only by being very thrifty live as unmarried, but could never consider raising a family. It might be considered that this is of no concern to the government, but it should be remembered that no matter how the government might think of the possessions, it should be with the purpose [255] of encouraging civilization. Then the case might look different, since it should be recognized that the temporary connections the Europeans might involve themselves in with local women, as many regards make necessary, are more of an obstacle than a promotion of civilization, as well as creating many intricate relations. Thus the government should certainly, by all indirect means available to them, seek to counteract them and to encourage legal marriages. But aside from these considerations for increasing the salaries, it should not be overlooked that since the offices in Guinea have so far been sought only infrequently by competent men, the reason is certainly not the general fear of the unhealthy climate, as such a fear was also nourished at the time of the East and West Indies, but a very important reason must equally be sought in *the great disparity* existing between the salaries of East and West Indian officials and those in Guinea. If the government wishes that competent men should compete for the offices, then the Establishment would have to be totally in agreement with Bergenhammer in that the system where one is appointed to a lesser office in spite of the fact that he would immediately be functioning

in a better paid one, should be abandoned; that the salaries should be raised and suitable residences be obtainable for the official servants. Concerning the last mentioned point, the Establishment has especially written to the Board today, thus takes the liberty of referring to it here.

It is possible that the government might make some savings by only filling the subordinate positions and then, after arrival, establishing them in higher positions, but if this practice prevents competent men from applying, the loss by far exceeds the advantages.

To the current practice it can thus be said that it gives the Board a chance to test a person for a higher position, but this applies only to the surnummerair assistant, while it is absolutely clear that one who is unfit to be first assistant, would necessarily also be so as the second, since the work is not so differentiated that there would be something that could only be handled by one alone, but had to be shared, depending on circumstances, so it becomes a question only of a general competence in trade. In addition there is this, that the Board does not have the same knowledge of the civil servants here as it does to those in [256] Denmark, but everything must go through a third person, and thus easily might be subject to personal opinions and feelings. Thus, we believe, that for this reason alone the system should be abandoned.

With regard to the relationships [between positions] upon which the salaries ought to be increased, after careful consideration we have come to the following conclusion, namely:

The salary of the governor	2,000 Rdl.
Food and entertainment	700 “
1 st member of Council	1,100 “
2 nd “ “	900 “
The doctor	700 “
The chaplain	750 “
A royal clerk	400 “
Chief of guard	300 “

If the Board compares sums shown above with those that are regulation for the East and West Indian officials, of which the Establishment is of the opinion that a comparison alone both with regard to the official offices and the cost of living could be required, it is felt to be unnecessary to plead any further defence to this proposal.

When the present catechist receives his suggested increase in salary, his right to offerings should probably be discontinued, partly, because it is just another tax imposed on the officials, and partly because the simple Mulattos, namely the soldiers, brought the offerings with displeasure; it was only imposed by the Danish catechist and not practised by the missionaries of the other possessions here. To his successor the right to offerings should for the reasons stated above, unreservedly cease, while the salary then should probably be reduced to 700 Rdl. Thus, while the suggested increase in salaries would ensure the present personnel here a suitable position during their stay at the Coast, the Establishment must also agree to Bergenhammer's proposal that there should be a decision on regulation of the allowances so that everyone would know with certainty what to expect when circumstances make it necessary to go home, very similar to what has been decided for the missionaries going to Greenland.

The proposed change of name suggested by Bergenhammer to the office of the members of the Council, and the elevation in rank of the first member is timely, and will also [257] contribute to the civil servants here, more than formerly, being held in equal regard to that of the servants of the other colonies.

The Establishment cannot but recommend, most warmly, the indicated proposals, whose main intention is to encourage competent young men to apply for a position down here, and to advise the Board to consider them carefully, hoping that it will not be overlooked that it is an allowance and not a pension that should be decided upon. Clearly, the state treasury will have an increase his expenses for a while, but without a doubt it should be recognized that a man who has lived here for 6 years, would need to rest for a couple of years before taking up a position in Europe. But when this period is over, one might surely be able to make use of any competent man and the allowance will not be a remarkable expense to the state budget. If, however, it should be feared that too many pensions would have to be paid out, then the Establishment should, as a matter of duty, understand that the reasons for such a fear should not be sought in this proposal, but rather be sought elsewhere, which, however, it is not necessary to point out any further.

Meanwhile, what should not be overlooked, in this or any other

matters concerning the possessions, is that even though they are a burden to the state, it should, as long as it wants to keep them, take care that they are administrated as well as possible, and should not tolerate that people are sent out here, who, as civil servants, in one way or the other, disgrace its reputation, which, unfortunately, had happened frequently, indeed right up to the present. But if you *insist* on the *aim*, then you must also *insist* on the *means*, which only consist of sending out competent officials for every position, and those will not be obtainable without following the example of England, namely, by paying a decent salary to those sent out, but also, in case of an emergency, not hesitate to take into consideration when no worthy competitive [candidate] turns up, to order an existing employee to come out here.

Since the soldiers, like the civil servants, by having their salaries paid in goods, in reality, to a higher sum than what is regulated, it will also be necessary to increase their wages. However, in order to enable the Board to have a complete view of the influence which the newly suggested changes might have on the budget, the Establishment takes the liberty of sending an overview. [258]

In accordance with all the abovementioned, the Establishment takes the liberty of forwarding for the decision of the Board in this case that is so important to the possessions.

Edu. Carstensen

H. Schumacher

J. Bergenhammer

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 9 June 1846

Draft for a budget

for the Danish-Guinean possessions,
made in regard to the most recently suggested changes

Expenses:

1. Cost of the administration

a.	The governor, salary	2,000 Rdl.g.Ct.
	“ food and entertainment	700 “ “ “
	“ drinks	<u>300 “ “ “</u>
		3,000 Rdl.g.Ct.

CLOSING THE BOOKS

b. 1. Councillor, salary	1,100	"	"	"
c. 2. " "	900	"	"	"
d. Clerk (surnummerair assistant)	400	"	"	"
e. Office clerk for the bookkeeper	180	"	"	"
f. " " for the warehouse keeper	60	"	"	"
g. Office expenses as protocols, writing material	75	"	"	"
h. Interpreters	100	"	"	"
i. Postage	100	"	"	"
				5,915 Rdl.g.Ct.

2. Church and school

a. Catechist salary		700	Rdl.g.Ct.
b. School teacher assistant	180 Rdl.		
Interpreters of Catechism	<u>50</u>	"	
c. Assistant's salary		230	" " "
d. to play the organ in church		50	" " "
e. Inventory in school and the maintenance		50	" " "
f. Clothing for school children, twice a year		70	" " "
g. Clothing at confirmation		300	" " "
h. to the missionaries at the girls' school		60	" " "
		<u>144</u>	" " "
			1,604 Rdl.g.Ct.

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3. Doctor and medication

a. Salary for the doctor of the Establishment	700	Rdl.g.Ct.
b. Medication and instruments	<u>150</u>	" "
		850 Rdl.g.Ct.

4. Licensed soldiers and weapons, etc.

After the separately calculated estimate by the governor on the above, the expenses of this branch will in total amount to (estimation copied from the Council Protocol

6,064 Rdl.g.Ct.

5. Construction work

a. For maintenance of the Chief Fort Christiansborg and the redoubt Prøvesten.	700	Rdl.g.Ct.
b. For maintenance of 5 official residences at Frederiksberg	200	" " "
c. For maintenance of buildings at the plantation Frederiksgave	40	" " "
d. For maintenance of military stations on the Coast and inland	<u>150</u>	" " "
		1,090 Rdl.g.Ct.

6. Plantation Frederiksgave

a. Salary for a supervisor	60 Rdl.g.Ct.	
b. Clothing for the villeins	45 " " "	
c. Other expenses, including tools, etc.	25 " " "	
		130 Rdl.g Ct.

7. Miscellaneous expenses

a. Pensions for old servants, soldiers and Mulattos	350 Rdl.g.Ct.	
b. New Year custom (1 January), which is only given to villeins and soldiers, will probably cease when the first-mentioned are freed and the last-mentioned have received increased salary	-----	
c. The King's custom, the same	-----	
d. Cabuceer custom	150 " " "	
e. Couriers, bearer and remidors	250 " " "	
f. Palavers concerning the Establishments	40 " " "	
g. Gifts to Negroes and villages	250 " " "	
h. Journeys in official business	150 " " "	[260]
i. Officials out-and home journeys	150 " " "	
k. Custom of the governor should probably be cancelled	-----	
l. Other miscellaneous expenses	2,500 " " "	
		3,840 Rdl.g.Ct.
Total		19,493 Rdl.g.Ct.
Or more reasonably		19,500 Rdl.g.Ct.

Income:

Since the expenses of the Mulatto treasury fund are included in the above budget, the income of the fund is consequently included here:

a. Contributions from the royal treasury	150 Rdl.g.Ct.	
b. The contributions of the civil servants	60 " " "	
c. Militia	90 " " "	
		300 Rdl.g.Ct.

Income from prosecutions at palavers estimated to

	100 " " "	
		400 Rdl.g.Ct.
Remainder		19,100 Rdl.g.Ct.

Note: Adjusted, according to the regular budget for the possessions, a sum of 16,875 Rdl.g.Ct. has been entered, that is 2,225 Rdl. less than stated above. But in this case it must be remembered that this excess of expenses cannot alone refer to the increase in

CLOSING THE BOOKS

salaries, but is partly based on larger expenses that do not exist in the earlier budget, and are, for the sake of making it complete, entered here, as under

No 1: to g, n and i are included	275 Rdl.g.Ct.
No 2: to e, f and g are included	430 " " "
No 3: to b included	150 " " "
in total	855 Rdl.g.Ct.

By comparing the earlier budget with the present draft, it will appear that the real increase in salaries only amounts to 800 Rdl., but the expenses to the military are increased from 2,000 Rdl. to 6,064, and this sum cannot be deleted without depriving the Establishment of its absolutely necessary physical power in order to keep order in the possessions. (Expenses for the soldiers in East India with a population of 35,700 persons are 18,796 rupees and in the West Indies 134,922 Rdl. v. Ct. [261] The population in Danish Guinea is estimated to 40,000 persons, spread over a rather hilly area, of a size of 16-20 miles.) If pursuing the comparison further to the normal budget, one will see that the increased expenses in several areas can be applied against savings in other areas, and that the expenses as a whole are kept more in line with the dignity of the state and to the requirements of the possessions than before.

The expenses regarding the church and the school system now amount to the very considerable sum of 1,604 Rdl. g. Ct., but from that sum some savings can be made with changes in the organization of this field, which, in time, will be proposed to the Board.

The amounts presented here in this draft, based on previous figures where available, are taken as average figures from the last accounts, and since the budget has been drawn up with constant concern that should the proposition be sanctioned, it follows that if one or two of the measures will not be approved of by the Board, as for instance the establishment of the temporary stations inland, etc., it will influence the budget.

Edw. Carstensen

J. Bergenhammer

12 June 1846

*Death of Schumacher and the subsequent delegation of duties.
G.J. 388/1846; duplicate 67/1847.*

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 12 June 1846

The Establishment hereby has the sad information to convey to the Board that the climate has again claimed a victim, namely that, Temporary First Assistant Schumacher, after having been attacked by fever on the 2nd this month, passed away yesterday in the evening, at 9 o'clock. The regular lifestyle led by Schumacher during his entire stay here, unfortunately, leaves no doubt that his death was caused by the ague, whose paroxysms were rather strong, and although the hope, nourished by the Establishment, that a regular and decent way of life might protect against this disease, is thus considerably weakened. The deceased was, during his illness, [262] well cared for by the present doctor, Bataille Surgeon Hansen.

On the occasion of this death the offices are thus reassigned: I, Carstensen, will take over the running of the warehouse until further notice, and only until the arrival of the Danish transport ship, on which there is no doubt that another official is being sent out, while Bergenhammer who is temporary first assistant, still will manage affairs concerning book keeping.

Catechist Mühlensteth, who has been lying sick with ague since the beginning of May, is still not completely recovered. But his situation should be regarded as free of danger, although the consequences of this disease will still prevent him from managing his office for weeks. The doctor has also taken good care of his patient.

Edw. Carstensen

J. Bergenhammer

4 July 1846

The English attitude towards the slave trade. The French and the Dutch possessions in Guinea are vegetating. The possibility of now putting an end to the Quitta slave trade. There is no need of new measures against the slave trade.

G.J. 430/1846, filed under West Indian Journal 411/1862; duplicate G.J.73/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 4 July 1846

On 10 March, the Board ordered the Establishment to collect, and then impart, information about the English, French and Dutch possessions, as well as Liberia policies in regard to the slave trade, specifically if positive penalty measures have been established, and how they are made known.

In this respect, the Establishment will not fail to inform that as the English government has declared officially, and still follows the principle, that outside of her forts England has no sovereignty or proper rights in Africa, but that the Negro tribes who carry the English flag, are totally independent in a political respect, and only consider England a protective power. [263] As a natural consequence of that, England does not legislate measures with binding power on the Negroes. Presumably, since a complete misunderstanding of African conditions has forced the English government to declare that it does not at all acknowledge slavery, but that it considers every human being as free, so of course, the courts must regard any enforced removal of a Negro as a *crimen raptus*²¹¹.

Those are the legal conditions in the English possessions on this coast, but practice is somewhat different, especially because the English government exercises the same sovereignty over the English Negro tribes as the Danish Establishment regarding our Negro tribes. Any case regarding slavery is sought to be avoided, or, it is decided by administrative means in another form, just as, through administrative measures, it is sought to prevent the now very rare attempts at true slave trade near any fort or by any Negro tribe that carries some European flag.

There is some reason to believe that the English government knows perfectly the real conditions in the African possessions and sanctions it, in order to be able to create political rights out of the virtual conditions, should occasion arise. But just because of these complicated conditions the English government does not want to give strangers any official

²¹¹ [i. e. abuse]

account of their practice, and it has been considered most correct not to ask for any official information. The vegetating condition in which the French and Dutch establishments are held, will supposedly also make these governments less ready to pass on information of this nature, and we are convinced that if for these establishments, definite penalty clauses have been drawn up against slave trade, these are only regarded as guidance for the administration, which in each case acts according to concrete circumstances.

This is all the information we are able to report on this subject, and if the Board is not satisfied, we believe that the most reliable information and the best cooperation will be achieved through diplomatic channels of the various states interested in deciding about this matter, although it is [264] hardly likely that England just now, wants to comment on conditions in Africa or wants them arranged in connection with other states.

By way of *Liberia* the Establishment can only correspond via America or England, and as this will take a long time, and the result will always be uncertain, nothing has been done yet, also because the diplomatic agent of the Free States in Copenhagen or our own in Washington no doubt will be able to give or obtain the most complete information. However, it must not be forgotten that *Liberia* is not a colony belonging to the free states, but has been founded and is being managed by a private company.

Concerning the particular question about consequences of penalty clauses for trade with slaves for export, we take the liberty of noting that this question will probably find its correct solution when the general regulations are worked out, which we have taken the liberty of suggesting be done. However, if the Board should not share this opinion, but considers it important that something be done, we must then petition that this be limited to drafting a few general rules as a guide for the administration. Aside from the fact that, at times, it is difficult to establish a court in this country, it must not be forgotten that if a law is established and made known, the dignity of the government and the Danish Establishment demand that any breach be sentenced. But a sentence must always be based on proof, and that would be very difficult, not to say impossible, to provide, as long as trade with slaves between individuals is allowed, and one acquittal will be sufficient for

the Negro to find out how to elude the law, and by that do incredible harm.

The fact that in recent years, trade has taken place near Quitta is not a consequence of lacking penalty clauses for this traffic, but must be sought essentially in the unfortunate decision of abandoning Fort Prinsensten. This placed the management of the whole coast at one end, without any means being left to the Establishment to maintain its prestige in the other end; thus this became a welcome base for the slave traders, who, when an expedition arrived after received information, took refuge in a neutral district. [265] Now that Fort Prinsensten will be suitably repaired, and with the hope of a management of a European supervisor, there is no doubt that the Danish Establishment, as well as, and partly even better than the other establishments, will be able to prevent any direct export of slaves; especially if the Board also, in future, will assure that each separate act of the Establishment is not judged according to European views, but according to the actual, completely different African conditions.

In the case of the Ussu town or its Elders it is beyond doubt that the political factor was predominant, and mainly for that reason the Commission tried to have it decided in an administrative manner, so now this case could not give grounds for working out a special penalty clause. If that should occur, however, where a legal decision concerning slave trade for export might be considered advisable, then [the events of] Friday, 16 March 1792 and 3 July 1835 will provide the necessary analogy [background] on which to build a sentence.

Edw. Carstensen

J. Bergenhammer

6 July 1846

Governor Carstensen's assistance to his fellow servants, to whom he has extended loans.

Note on G.J. 33/ 1847, filed under 289/1854.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 6 July 1846

During the long period of time that I have been living in Guinea, since I

have been in good health while others have suffered and succumbed, as [far as] my economic situation has allowed, I have provided my fellow servants with every service that I could possibly offer. That by financial outlays to fellow servant I have incurred no loss must be ascribed to the rule here on the Coast that the estate of a deceased civil servant always clears debts of that nature.

To follow the letter of the law would have excluded such claims, and thus force those who otherwise would have wanted to, to refrain from helping. I must remark that such help usually consists of outlay for already purchased provisions, furniture or such things.

Edw. Carstensen

|266| 19 August 1846

At the moment the country is peaceful, but the climate is a constant threat to health. Bergenhammer and Svedstrup have been ill.

G.J. 431/1846; duplicate 74/ 1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 19 August 1846

The English survey steamer *The Avon* arrived in the roads yesterday evening and will leave for England in a few hours. I will make use of this occasion to report briefly to the distinguished Board on the situation here since 12 June, the day after the death of Assistant Schumacher, which sad occasion was then reported.

In Danish Guinea peace and order prevail. In Akuapem the new cabuceer exercises a beneficent authority over the whole country. In Augna country, Quitta has shown the desirable readiness for the commands of the Establishment. Fort Prinsensten will when conditions are favourable be restored in the first months of next year.

While, thus, under the circumstances, one can observe the country in political and administrative terms with satisfaction, yet, one might look with worry on the heavy burden the Europeans here are subjected to, namely the influence of the poisonous characteristic of the climate. The chief rainy season has again absolutely failed to appear; on the contrary the small rainy season has come earlier than usual and with it cold and fog, wind and dusty rain.

The transition from the warm, rather dry air to the now prevailing weather took place in June. Until into September we cannot expect any lasting changes. With the weather change in June, sickness and death started to ravage the population of all colours. Assistant Schumacher was the first victim among the Europeans this year; no one was spared of ague, gall attacks and other sicknesses and inconveniences. In the middle of July Assistant Bergenhammer was attacked by the ague; he recovered from it, but is suffering from attacks of fever, not dangerously, which still attack the little strength the ague left him with. [267]

The first days of July, Lieut. Svedstrup, at Quitta fort, was found by the doctor of the French war ship *La Surprise*, Mr. Andrieux, to be deathly ill and out of his senses. By the treatment of this doctor, and with the assistance of his master, Capt. Gourio²¹², he was saved. For a couple of days S. stayed on board the naval brig, which they tried to sail to Christiansborg. Since wind and current were against them, S. was, after his own wishes, placed ashore in Quitta. When this news, written to me by the chief of the brig *La Surprise*, reached me, I forwarded orders to Lieut. Svedstrup to proceed here as soon as his strength would permit him to travel. In the last days of July, S. reached here, and is now after repeated inconveniences, quite well.

In the health situation there are *now* signs of a change for the better, and we will hope by God, that our expectations on that front will not be disappointed²¹³.

Edw. Carstensen

14 September 1846

A public investigation of the conduct of Missionary Riis will prove harmful to the mission. Carstensen criticizes the expedition he undertook with G. Lutterodt to Akuapem in 1845. If Riis comes back at the Coast, it might prove to be harmful to the work of the other missions. The great importance of the Basel Mission is strongly emphasized. Their school should be allowed

²¹² Henri-François-Ange-Marie Gourio de Refuge, French captain of the corvette 1843.

²¹³ In the duplicate of this report, G.J.74/1847, the last paragraph ends differently: "In the health situation there are now signs of a change for the better, and these better prospects will still depend on the weather conditions this and the next month."

to take over the Danish school at Christiansborg. The Establishment will assist the mission in establishing a station at Ningbo.

G.J. 439/1846; duplicate 75/1847; here after the duplicate.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 14 September 1846

The distinguished Board has, in a letter of 10 March this year, asked for information with regard to the practice of Missionary Riis here on the Coast in particular, and of the practice of the mission in general.

The Establishment has not recommended a public inquiry [268] into the conduct of Riis here on the Coast. To do this, one would have to involve the present mission in the investigation. In Akuapem and here in Ussu, inquiries would have to be made; a public investigation could in many instances affect the cause of the missions here; the whole procedure only would have strengthened the general opinion of Riis, that he interfered too much in the political matters of the country, and that he did not have his Christian mission foremost in his mind.

The Establishment regards the cause of the African mission so highly that it does not wish it to be subject to public discussion because a single member of the mission did not fulfil his duty. The reports of the authorities, the proofs of his fellow missionaries should be sufficient to have him removed from the place where he led his work in a wrong direction.

That the circumstance concerning Riis became an object of official correspondence under the deceased Governor Mørck, is well known, as well as the fact that Riis then knew how to throw the blame on the deceased governor, just as Riis, later in London in the meetings of the Guinean Committee²¹⁴, spoke dishonourably of the deceased governor.

The situation regarding Riis was then, in the reports of Governor Carstensen of 20 November 1845, described with disapproval. From this we can emphasize the account of the expedition to Akuapem undertaken by Riis and Lutterodt with armed men, in the interest

²¹⁴ The English possessions on the Gold Coast were at that time governed by a committee, consisting of three merchants in London (W. W. Claridge: *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, I, London 1915, page 403)

of Ussu-Akim. This expedition was undertaken at a time when the situation at the fort would have advised against it. Did not the decision of the Establishment of 14 March 1844 strongly emphasize that decisions regarding important palavers should be postponed until the return of the governor? This expedition reported by G. Lutterodt on 14. September 1844 was undertaken under the instigation of Riis, and it seems that Riis intended to lead, or would have led, the military command. Sergeant Malm²¹⁵ has thus explained that Riis gave him orders [269] for various military actions, which Malm, however, refused to execute without orders from the appropriate person concerned.

The result of the expedition could have been anticipated; the party of Adum did not want to meet at Akropong, where they knew that the party of Ussu-Akim was assembled, proud of the protection of Riis, emphasized by the bayonets of the fort. Quite reasonably, Adum refused to attend, understandable by the report of 14 September stating: 'On the whole, I cannot adequately recommend the Akropong Negroes, who during my stay there for 12 days consented to everything I demanded of them'. It is still understandable that the expedition did not achieve anything, but left Akuapem with an empty threat against Adum and returned home as a laughing stock. For anyone who has known Riis and Lutterodt in their mutual relation, it will be easy to figure out whose opinion was dominant in that situation.

We are not going to plead the opinion of the local missionaries regarding Riis, even though it is sufficiently known to us, both in regard to his interference in the Akuapem disputes and to his other practice.

Taking the above into consideration, it will not be recommended to the Basel Mission to grant Riis any permission to an assignment out here. In the event of Riis' arrival at the Coast, the Establishment could only prevent him from staying in the mountains of Akuapem; although we have reason to believe that his stay at the beach, for many reasons, would not serve the cause of the mission.

While the Establishment has described Riis' situation, it has observed a degree of leniency towards Riis, which would not have been the case

²¹⁵ Henrik Malm, Mulatto, sergeant, *Dannebrogsmænd*, discharged 1 October 1847, was recommended by Carstensen to the pension fund of the *Dannebrogsmænd*. A civil servant of the order asked for more information, but the pension was not granted. (G.J.202/1851).

if we had not feared that Riis' situation, by detailed investigation, by recording of inquiries, etc., could have resulted in a turn in which Riis as an individual would not be isolated enough from the cause of the mission, a cause for which he has long been regarded as the supervisor, and thus without gaining anything more than circumstantial evidences of Riis' work in wrong directions. The Establishment regards the cause of the mission out here as so important, its call so sacred that one cannot, without necessity, subject it to the malicious criticism of public opinion.

It is here that the Establishment, without the reserve with which this letter is composed, can reply to the request of the Board [270] regarding the work of the mission in this country. The Establishment is of the opinion that the Danish Guinean possessions, at present, only have significance because they have a missionary presence, whose work is conscientious, tireless, unselfish, whose endeavours will not be proclaimed by Wesleyan boasting or impelled by Wesleyan mysticism, but precisely because of that, provided expected help and encouragement are not lacking, it will prove fruitful.

Only by the present mission following the well-trodden path, by an exemplary life it will gain the respect of the people, by well-guided teaching to bring education to the people, can it reach its goal. But the work will be prolonged, if not fruitless, if the efforts of the missionaries do not enjoy the encouragement, the efficient help, to which they are entitled from the authorities. If the present missionaries are supported, they will be followed by like-minded men, [and] then the mission will function as it should. If the performance of the missionaries at their missionary stations is given adequate support on the part of the administration, then the activities of the mission will prove to be fruitful.

The best testimonial the Establishment can give to the present mission includes the long-felt wish of the Establishment, to see the education system of the Establishment undivided under the administration of the missionaries. The mission's *English school* in Ussu town is progressing so well, its benefits so unquestionable, that the *Danish school* at the fort manifests itself now, more than ever, in its insignificance. The advantage of the mission's school is that the English language is taught and practised there; it is administered by men whose thoughts and activities are directed exclusively to its interests. In the Danish school at

the fort a language is used which here might be called a dead language, it is administered by men who only are living for their personal interests, who regard their position here as transitory, a means of promotion at home; who live, vegetating in that thought, and thus nothing is achieved here. This situation will be the object of a particular report.

The Establishment will, in a short time, help the mission in the establishment of several stations in the mountains and at the beach. It is the intention, especially, to establish a permanent station at Ningo, whose size and easy communication with Akropong should attract attention and offer advantages that should not be [271] disregarded. Probably, the ruins of Fort Fredensborg in Ningo could provide a site for a missionary house. In that case the fort will not disappear, its bastions and outworks will, when repaired, form a military station, while the living quarters of the fort, reconstructed by the mission and secured for its use, will provide premises for the activities of a mission.

The Establishment is convinced that this correspondence regarding Riis, far from being unfavourable to the cause of the mission in Guinea, on the contrary, it will be of advantage to the cause and generate efforts in their interest.

Edw. Carstensen

As a co-signatory of this statement, I will not neglect to remark that on my arrival in this country, Missionary Riis had left, so I did not have the opportunity of making personal acquaintance with the man. But as counsel and judge in the case against Adum and Sebah-Akim, I had, at that time, to seek all the knowledge of the disputes of Akuapem, in which I soon found that Missionary Riis had been an active participant; furthermore, nothing of what I then, and later, have experienced about Riis, is in conflict with what has been stated in the above report. Regarding the present members of the mission, it is my pleasure, of my own conviction; to co-sign unconditionally what has been reported above.

For Bergenhammer: Edw. Carstensen

15 September 1846

George Lutterodt is a good warehouse keeper, but lacks the independence and will to function as temporary governor.

G.J. 440/1846, filed under 125/1850; duplicate 76/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 15 September 1846

In a letter of 10 March this year, the distinguished Board orders me to report in detail information regarding the official duties of Georg Lutterodt.

What I wrote in the report of 20 November 1845 concerning Georg Lutterodt, was necessary in order to explain in full, and absolutely truthfully, the events [272] of 1844. I shall now take the liberty of expressing the reasons why I maintain that G. Lutterodt's weak sense of duty and its consequences should not be blamed on him alone, and that this was not important enough to demand an inquiry.

Georg Lutterodt came to Guinea at the age of 15, with only little educational knowledge. He lacked the competence and energy to acquire the education, the independence of the will, which he should have been in possession of later as a civil servant. A long, uninterrupted stay in Guinea severed the few ties that kept him in touch with the civilized Europe. The Guinean domestic life generated in him the same relaxed attitude of mind that almost everyone out here suffers from, that abandons the thought of activities of a non-Guinean character. Nor does an earlier, well-guided upbringing, supported by a strong will, provide effective weapons against the enervating influence that the climate of the country, the customs of the country, exerts on him.

G. Lutterodt might have felt that he was not adequate to the later Guinean conditions. Also his age, his physical condition, now required tranquillity, that he should be relieved of such official duties that required the mind and the bodily strength of a younger man in order to be realized. Those so frequent deaths and the subsequent vacancies among the present civil servants, did not give G. Lutterodt the desirable tranquillity. Again and again his assistance was required for the affairs of the fort; he was the only available business man when death had struck all, only I, the acting governor, was to be spared, and I had no choice.

Thus G. Lutterodt received, after the recommendation of the governor, the temporary appointment as warehouse keeper, an appointment, which would be guaranteed a proper management with a reliable man like G. Lutterodt. But it was as in his capacity as first member of the Council that G. Lutterodt had to perform in the absence of the governor, that he lacked the independence and fearlessness, the independence of domestic and family regards here that should have guided him, which should have inspired him.

G. Lutterodt *could* respond to any complaint to his official performance that he behaved according to the best of his ability. I *cannot* report anything a prejudicial regarding P.G.'s administration of the warehouse [273], nor anything that might incriminate him in the practice of his other official duties. One can, however, stress a situation that speaks decisively *for* Lutterodt, but denounces our situation in the Guinean establishments. That is the constant lack of officials that *forces* the surviving civil servant to complement them with the few strengths and abilities that are available, and we cannot require more from the civil servant called to temporary duty than what his strength and abilities promise, than what these could enable him to achieve.

Georg Lutterodt, during and at the events of 1844 and 45, has earned the unquestionable reputation that he must now be rewarded with a peaceful old age, a freedom, under no circumstance, bothered by official concerns.

The distinguished Board will from the abovementioned acknowledge an effect of the lack on officials at these establishments. Unfortunately, I must fear, and my fear is not ungrounded, that the Danish-Guinean establishments will be able, only with difficulty, to assure a complete civil personnel. The irregular deaths occurring in combination with our slow communication from home make any estimate of filling the vacancies impossible.

Edw. Carstensen

22. September 1846

The Negroes' New Year celebration gave rise to quarrel and fighting between the natives of British and Dutch Accra, and several were killed. Carstensen

persuaded the parties to keep calm, until the arrival of Derx, the Dutch governor, after which a sentence was passed and the case settled. The health situation.

G.J. 441/1846, filed under 251/1847; duplicate 77/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 September 1847

Upon departing from England tomorrow, by a Bristol ship, I take the opportunity to report to the distinguished Board the most remarkable events from here.

On the 5th this year, the “Black New Year” began in English and Dutch Accra. This feast is mostly celebrated with drinking of spirits. [274]

On the 6th in the morning, quarrel and fighting arise between an English and a Dutch Negro. From that a general battle quickly developed between the English and the Dutch Negroes. Stones were thrown and knives used so several were hurt and some killed. Totally, a score of people were killed, partly during the fight, partly caused by the wounds.

During the fight some English Negroes set fire to a house in Dutch Accra (This town is separated from English Accra only by a small, open square), and the fire spread quickly because of the wind. A great many houses with grass roofing burnt down. The fighters were separated from each other, but now the Dutch equipped themselves to take a bloody revenge because of the fire. The English Negroes prepared themselves to repulse the attack.

When I arrived at Dutch Accra in the afternoon, the town's young militia, armed, was out in the field and had surrounded English Accra. They were only awaiting the town's Elders and lieutenants to start an attack. I succeeded, under these circumstances, in persuading the assembled Elders and lieutenants in Dutch Accra to keep calm, to persuade the young troops to await the arrival of the Dutch governor. For three days I had to make use of persuasion and threats to convince them that while all communication between English and Dutch Accra was maintained, a standstill should prevail, during which the armed force of Fort Crevecoeur would prevent any disorder. The case itself

should remain untouched, no investigations would be undertaken before the arrival of the Dutch governor in charge, Derx. The armed force of Fort Crevecoeur consisted of only 1 sergeant and 4 men, without any European officer, so I reinforced it with 10 men and 2 non-commissioned officers from the garrison of Christiansborg. Governor Derx arrived on 17th this month, and after my invitation he took up residence here at the fort. Today the case was finally settled in Dutch Accra, and the supporting reinforcement from Fort Christiansborg will be withdrawn.

On 18th this month, the birthday of His Majesty the King was ceremoniously celebrated. Present here in the fort were the English Governor Vinniet²¹⁶ and the Dutch Governor Derx. [275]
In the last days of last month, Lieutenant Svedstrup set off for Quitta, to Fort Prinsensten. Lieutenant Svedstrup was then again in very good health.

Assistant Bergenhammer's condition has for the last 4 months been highly regrettable. Repeated gall attacks have, in the most disturbingly manner, deprived him of all his strength, his courage and hope.

Otherwise, the health situation is good. The weather has changed for the better, after it has, as it were, emptied all its reserves of cold and humidity over us. With yearning we have awaited, and daily we have been expecting the arrival of the Danish naval ship – the latest news from home is from the month of April.

Edw. Carstensen

22 September 1846

The mediator Coff-Krah offered the King of Ashanti that he would restore some of the valuables lost by the king during the war, but proved unable to produce these objects. So he was sentenced to death, but was transferred to Fort Christiansborg, where he hanged himself in his cell.

G.J. 442/1846; filed under 251/1847; duplicate 78/1847.

²¹⁶ William Winniett, English naval officer (died 4 December 1850), governor in the Gold Coast 1846-50.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 September 1846

The Establishment has hereby the honour, as a matter of duty, to inform the Board of a case, which could easily have disturbed the peaceful situation here in the possessions, but, if one dares to say, has from an official point of view enjoyed a quite happy result.

The mediator in Akuapem, Coffy-Krah, an ambitious, scheming, but intelligent man, had, namely, sent a messenger to the King of Ashanti, with the offer that he, Coffy-Krah, who called himself a cabuceer, could procure for the king the objects that had been taken away from him during the battle of Duduah on 7 August 1826, if the King of Ashanti presented him with some precious gifts. The king immediately accepted the offer and sent his messengers to Coffy-Krah with the requested gifts. However, the latter was unable to fulfil his promises, partly because the captured objects were spread around [276] the whole Coast, and partly because Coffy-Krah naturally was not entitled to have access to some single objects that the Akuapems hide as trophies of the war.

Meanwhile, the Akuapems found it suspicious that the messenger of the Ashanti king²¹⁷ was staying so long in the country, and the cabuceer together with others approached them to get information about their actual mission. When this was known, they were furious with Coffy-Krah, and in a grand assembly of Elders, cabuceers, along with others who were concerned, he was unanimously sentenced to death, and they were just about to execute the sentence when a Danish soldier who happened to be there in another matter, made them aware that the Establishment hardly would be satisfied with this procedure. This remark convinced those assembled to postpone the execution, and the abovementioned soldier was told to report what had occurred to the Establishment. When the Establishment received this, a reliable non-commissioned officer and 2 men were immediately sent to Akuapem with the order that Coffy-Krah should be brought down here; and in an assembly of Elders there should be given a complete explanation of Coffy-Krah's treason, etc., and finally some reliable men from the assembly should be brought in to confirm to the Establishment the accuracy of the case. Coffy-Krah was then kept in the fort, certainly, under arrest, but under good conditions compared to the living

²¹⁷ Kwaku Dua I (1838-67).

standards of the Negroes, and he seemed, with the indifference of the Negroes, to accepted his fate, whatever that would be, when he, on 28th last month, suddenly hanged himself in the prison.

An investigation was immediately made of this suicide, where also the *visum repertum*²¹⁸ of the doctor is enclosed. The Establishment has sent a message about the suicide to Akuapem, and hopefully the case will finally find its solution by the installation of another mediator, which has also been confirmed by the messengers who came back, that everything was peaceful.

Edw. Carstensen

[277] 6 October 1846

Carstensen takes a trip to Fort Prinsensten on the brig Mercurius. He was accompanied by Bergenhammer, who is now very weak, and his repatriation should be considered. Carstensen himself needs a leave of absence.

G.J.451/1846; duplicate 80/ 1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 6 October 1846

On 26 September in the morning, the Bristol ship *The Gambia* left from here with my report of 22 September. On the same day at noon, the brig *Mercurius*, Captain Lieutenant Meyer²¹⁹, anchored in the roads off Christiansborg.

On 28th in the evening, at my request to her chief, the naval brig sailed off to Quitta with me and Assistant Bergenhammer; on board were still 8 soldiers ready to relieve the garrison of Fort Prinsensten. After a few hours ashore, I left Quitta again by making it known that I would return in November, and during a longer stay intended to sort out the matters concerning the fort. I took Lieutenant Svedstrup with me back to Christiansborg, in order to have his assistance when unloading the transport ship here, and also when sorting out the material that I expected to send to Quitta with the abovementioned ship.

²¹⁸ [i. e. autopsy]

²¹⁹ Johan Anton Meyer, Danish naval officer (1799-1875), captain lieutenant 1840, chief of the brig *Mercurius* on the cruise to the Faroe Islands, Guinea and the West Indies 1846-47; captain 1847.

On 2 October we landed at Fort Christiansborg. Today, 6 October, the brig *Mercurius* has finished filling water, etc., and will sail off early tomorrow.

We could not sufficiently express our appreciation for the efforts of the Board to supply us with an annual visit of a Danish war ship, and we hope that next year, we will be seeing the Danish naval flag again, and, again next year, to meet a chief of the ship with the pleasant qualities of Captain Lieutenant Meyer.

I took with me Assistant Bergenhammer on the sea trip to and fro Quitta, in the hope that the sea air and the distraction might affect his critical health condition positively. Bergenhammer is perhaps less reduced than before the arrival of the brig; he has now [278] some faith in a better future. His bodily strength, however, is so reduced that I regard a recovery here at the Coast as extremely difficult, and the necessity of a home leave is probably imminent.

If Assistant Bergenhammer's health should require his removal from the Coast, it will probably be carried out with the Danish transport ship in November. In three to four weeks' time there will be passage on a ship to England. I will then report to the distinguished Board if we are to be deprived of a civil servant like Bergenhammer, whose competence and integrity could be further built on, or if a happy change might occur, which will restore him for the administration of these possessions, and thus perhaps could give *me* a chance to undertake a journey of recovery for myself, the necessity of which becomes more urgent every day.

Edw. Carstensen

22. October 1846

As a reply to an inquiry the information is given that there are only a couple of European consuls or trade agents on the entire west coast of Africa. Denmark has no interest at the moment in appointing such officials, but a Hamburg agent might prove useful as a Danish consul.
G.J. 21/1847, filed under 596/1848; duplicate 85/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 October 1846

In a report of 13 September last year, I informed the distinguished Board the difficulty of collecting information from Sierra Leone and the further Upper Coast. In the reply to the letter of the Board of 4 June this year, I am subjected to the same lack of precise knowledge about the conditions of the Upper Coast.

It is not known to me whether any foreigner has consuls or trade agents on the west coast of Africa and especially on the coast from here to Gambia. I am quite convinced that this is a situation only in the case of Hamburg, whose consulate in Sierra Leone was established more or less because of an application by a man who desired for himself the title of consul. In February this year, [279] the Spanish corvette *Venus* passed here, on board she had a Spanish consul general for the Guinea Coast (the entire Coast). His appointment had political motives, namely observation of the English activities in the Gulf, the occupation of Fernando Po, the possible capture of Spanish slave traders taken to Sierra Leone, etc. This Spanish consul general was to stay in Sierra Leone.

The situation in Guinea does not permit of the appointment of consuls who could function as generally expected [in that capacity]. Communication exists only by way of the sea, and thus it is even less safe and reliable. A consul appointed for a long coastline in Guinea can only be of any use in the place where he has his permanent residence. In that respect a Danish consul for *The Coast of Guinea* could just as well live in Christiansborg as in Sierra Leone.

A nation with considerable trading interests might probably have to appoint trade agents in all the places where established trading activity has proven the profitability of appointing a trade agent. That Denmark's trading interests are not of that kind, either in Sierra Leone or somewhere else on the Coast, are well known.

I must at this time regard an appointment of a Danish consul in Sierra Leone as unnecessary; the Danish trading interests do not require such an arrangement. A Dane would not benefit from that. By appointing a foreigner as Danish consul, namely a Hamburg trading commis[sioner] (because anyone else is probably not among the applicants), one might be confronted with the possibility that one or another of the *Guinean*

trading speculations - closely related to slave trade - would be initiated under the auspices of the "Danish consul". In that case frequent deaths and the thereby subsequent changes, might perhaps affect the Danish consulate in Sierra Leone more than [they do] the Establishment at Christiansborg. Over and over again the authorities in question would have to respond to the applications for the position of consul, would have to make inquiries into the qualifications of the applicants, which hardly could be reassuring enough, before, after a short time, having to start the same procedures over again.

It is absolutely clear that the applications submitted for appointment as Danish consul, have their own interest in view, and only own interest. The insignificant Danish carrying trade in Guinea is in the hands of Hamburg traders. They would then see to their own interests by observing the needs of the freighter, and the competition among the freighters [280] in Guinea is so small, that one can be quite sure that the charterer will see his own interests closely connected to those of the freighter.

If the application to be appointed as Danish consul in Guinea involves only personal advantage, then it cannot be consistent with the title of consul, however much the titles are desired. If, on the contrary, the person involved seeks the opportunity of establishing himself in the Danish-Guinean possessions, then the application is understandable and reasonable; and although the regulation of these establishments acknowledge the monopoly system, I presume that both the Board and the Establishment would eventually follow the opposite principle with regard to trading rights for foreigners in Danish Guinea.

I must here remark that the Dutch government has given one Bremer von Holtz, a "commis" of a Bremen trading house, permission to stay at Elmina.

If a Hamburg trader establishes himself here at Fort Christiansborg, the Establishment would in many respects appreciate it. Since we have to abandon the thought of a *Danish* trading house out here, a Hamburg establishment would in many respects be of use to us, namely with regard to the direct communication with Denmark and all that might be connected to that. It would thus be a great advantage to a Hamburg trading house if one of its agents in Guinea became Danish consul on the Coast of Guinea, namely the Upper Coast, with an obligation

to stay alternatively in Sierra Leone and in Danish Accra, where, at the latter place, he will have the permission to store and sell goods. Furthermore, by this [arrangement], the Establishment, in addition to the abovementioned advantages, would become familiar with the activities of the trade agent, and be fairly secure against such undertakings on his part that could compromise the authorities' trust in him.

About two years ago, Captain Dideriksen, agent for the trading house Sontag in Hamburg, intended to take the necessary steps to establish a factory in the Danish possessions. Capt. Dideriksen, however, has too close connections with the Portuguese on the Lower Coast for his application to have been approved of for him *personally*. [281]

Surely, it might be most appropriate for the Board to refer eventual applicants to the Establishment here; that the Establishment still would be authorized to grant a licence for the establishment of a storeroom and sales of goods in Danish Guinea to a Hamburg trader, who would then show himself worthy.

In trade you often have to seize the opportunity, not to miss favourable market trends. The great distance between this [the market] and Denmark should therefore be taken into consideration and, if possible, not be of hindrance to a useful arrangement.

Edw. Carstensen

7. November 1846

A report of Catechist Mühlensteth on schools and church in the Guinean possessions is forwarded, with the remarks by Carstensen. The Governor is still in favour of English as the school language. The aim is the education of the natives, leading them into church and faith. Neglected and dilapidated, the school at the fort is useless. Attendance is declining both at school and church, and it would be a better plan to hand them over to the Basel Mission, to be supported by a government grant. The present teacher, Christian Holm, might be appointed interpreter and educate some interpreters in Danish. G.J. 26/1847, filed under 62/1850; duplicate 134/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 7 November 1846

In a letter of 22 October this year to the catechist and the schoolteacher of the Establishment, Mühlensteth, Governor Carstensen has requested the report of this civil servant about the school and church system here. Governor Carstensen has today in the Establishment, presented that letter of 22 October this year, and the report received from the catechist, in order to forward the same to the Board, supplemented with the remarks of the Establishment²²⁰.

Governor Carstensen's letter of 20 May 1843, [282] regarding the school and church system here, was thus, at the time, answered by the Board that the case concerned should be presented to the catechist for his comments and then be treated in the assembled Establishment. Because of vacancies for [the last] three years it has been impossible to treat the matter in accordance with instruction of the Board. After Catechist Mühlensteth recovered from the ague and then had the opportunity to tend to his vocation and thus carefully become acquainted with the school and the church, of which he is in charge, that this case regarding the church and the school, for the first time, could be completely treated.

Governor Carstensen's letter to the catechist refers to the above mentioned letter of 20 May 1843. Since we refer to the mentioned letters, and since they present the case as it was three years ago, we will now present our well-considered report into this very important matter.

The question of whether the instruction in the school and in the church service still could be maintained in the Danish language, with benefit to the intention for which investments were made, would three years ago, when the Danish school had no competition, have been answered by an unquestionable denial. But the reasons that supported the uselessness of the Danish language in the public education would have lacked the weight that can now be given. One could have pleaded the circumstances here as requiring English education as the only means of conveying any useful information to the native. One could have pleaded the example of the West Indies, where the black and the coloured population were not forced to have a Danish education. The grounds that we could now build on to show the uselessness of the

²²⁰ Mühlensteth's statement is enclosed the report, filed under G.J. 62/1850.

Danish language in school and church here, have been provided for us by recent events. We have experience that shows the benefits of education in the English language.

Before we continue, we must remark that we regard it as an accepted, unquestionable matter that the purpose of education here is “the enlightenment of the native”, that it be directed towards “his benefit and to what is best for the native”, that the purpose of the church service should be to attach to the church, to strengthen in faith, the native, enlightened by education.

We are going to comment on the events that have proved the uselessness^[283] of the school system of the fort, and thus have given grounds for this matter to be taken under consideration.

At all times, the schools of the fort, because of lack of regular care, have been extremely neglected and in a constant state of dilapidation. However, they were visited by a considerable number of pupils – because of the clothing the pupils were given twice a year. Reverend Tørsleff has left one pupil who, in an emergency, could be used as interpreter. Later pupils of the school have left the school after spending up to 6-8 years, without understanding Danish, without acquiring knowledge for their own good or to the benefit of the fort. Some of the boys, after being confirmed and leaving the school of the fort, went to the English missionary schools in Accra to learn English there. Thus they gave themselves a happy future; namely, those few who acquired knowledge, received appointments in trade and the missionary schools.

The very regrettable stagnation in the futile existence of the Danish schools of the fort became apparent at the moment the schools received competition. This happened almost two years ago when the Basel missionaries established an English school in Ussu town. This school has, in accordance with the wish of the Establishment, taken over the girls’ school in the fort, which was *de facto* disbanded, but it has now actually also absorbed the boys’ school from the fort. The boys’ school in the fort is declining in proposition to the increase at the mission school. The school at the fort now has about 30 boys, while the mission’s school numbers hundreds, and in addition a numerous girls’ school.

Governor Carstensen has attended the meetings of the school commission in order, if possible, to sort out the problems of the school at the fort, to prevent its total disintegration. With good reason, it was

decided to leave to the Mulattos and others who had children in the school, the right to choose between the school of the fort and that of the mission, but the right to appointment in the service of the fort was reserved for those brought up in the Danish school. We are aware that it is only because of this promise that the disintegration of the school was prevented. Almost 30 boys are now being forced to have Danish education because we have promised the parents that appointments in the fort will be reserved these pupils!

With reluctance, unwillingly do these pupils meet in the Danish school; they envy the lot of their earlier friends who now visit [284]the mission school. As a result of the situation at the school, the church in the fort is visited by the few boys left behind who, with difficulty are made to attend the school or church. In all, the congregation consists of those ordered to the church attendance by the garrison, of the few civil servants who care to meet. One misses the edifying sight of a voluntary congregation. The effect the consciousness of voluntary listeners might have on the servants of the church, must be absent, because knowing that only the civil servants are capable of understanding a sermon, which is not understandable to the rest of the congregation, must certainly blunt the interest of the priest in his duties in that respect.

While we at the fort are by necessity in this state of stagnation, or rather decline, the missionaries are operating in Ussu town. Everywhere children are heard singing the missionary school and church chorales. Even adults are participating in the lessons. Both in the teachers and pupils a kind of force, a spirit, is found, which gives the instruction the right kind of life and meaning. This year the mission intends to build a church, since the schoolroom cannot accommodate the congregation.

The few Danish catechists, who for intermittent periods, have worked at the school and church here, certainly had to admit that with the means given they could only perform little of their vocation, which is to spread enlightenment and Christianity among the inhabitants of the country, and not to be a house priest for the civil servants of the fort. There are so few Danes and so little of Danish in Guinea, that a Danish church and school for the Danes are superfluous. To force Danish education on the natives is to work against the aim of education, and is, therefore, unnatural.

We have described how highly unsatisfying the conditions are in the

school and church at the fort. The catechist cannot work against the general, and quite understandable, predilection among the inhabitants for the English school and church. The Establishment does not regard itself authorized to intervene. This is how it is now. But we are convinced that if the Danish school and church are not amalgamated with those of the missions, then the school, in a short time, will be empty. The church will only be visited by those who are obliged to do so (and then the question will easily arise, can the governor order anybody to attend the Danish church, who prefers the English service that is both comprehensible and attractive to him?) This is not a question of whether [285] one belief has to yield to another, nor to favour one language over the other. The question is to make a choice and firmly maintain the best and most suitable means of promoting education among the heathens.

The missionaries have gained favourable results because they found many prepared to follow them when they were going to teach and speak the English language, because with that language many saw the means to a future existence on a great part of the Coast. The school at the fort, however, could only be attended with interest by those who had certain expectations of an appointment at the fort; for whatever use could those so educated make of their knowledge of Danish without such an appointment?

Here also one should have in mind that the school of the fort only delivers very mediocre pupils and cannot do any better, as long as the school, so far, is without competent management. So far the school has delivered rather few subjects who are so competent in the Danish language that they could be used as interpreters and the like. To send boys to Denmark to prepare them to be interpreters, non-commissioned officers or so forth, would be an expensive and artificial way of maintaining Danish-speaking servants. What would be more natural than in this situation to adjust to the prevailing circumstances, and make use of the resources at hand, i.e. in the services of the fort to use English-speaking non-commissioned officers. It would be easier to order a few servants to be able to understand, and to be able to speak the English language, than to bring forth the existence of Danish-speaking non-commissioned officers.

Already now the availability of interpreters is bad enough because of the lack of competent Danish-speaking individuals. If we could use English-speaking natives as interpreters, the choice would have been open. Possibly,

we will be forced to use an English interpreter in a short, or longer, period of time, and in that case the Danish language will be superceded in the outer fields of trade, [it will be] heard only among the higher officials (namely the Europeans), [and] could not possibly be maintained in church and school.

When we are of the opinion that the hitherto Danish education and Danish church service should be superceded by English education and English church service, we could then consider either a transformation of the school and church at the fort, or a transfer of the same to the Basel Mission. [286] A transformation of the school would be burdened by many of the considerable faults which the present school and church have been suffering, namely, a catechist who is only working temporarily, due to illness, death or absence. But what perceivable would prove decisive to the argument against the existence of an English school at the fort and an English mission school in town, is shown in the fate of the English school at the fort in Cape Coast, namely, that this could not endure next to a mission school and merged with it.

On the other hand, a transfer of instruction and church service from the fort to the present Basel Mission would include so many guaranties of conscientious, uninterrupted commitments of the obligations that will be transferred to them, that not for a moment could one hesitate to prefer a transition to a change. By transferring the combined school and church service of the Establishment to the mission, we will give the work of the mission a greater dimension, a greater stability. We will achieve a unity of the educational and church services, which would be highly desirable here.

The Establishment will be released from taking care of details of a matter that with the best will, could not be understood as appropriate with the present lack of resources at hand.

We would then suggest to the Board that, in order that unity and strength be achieved for the school and church here, the Establishment be authorized to transfer to the Basel Mission the complete educational service and the connected church services in the Danish-Guinean Establishment, in return for which the Basel Mission commit themselves to maintain a school and provide clothing to the Mulatto children, who until now have attended the school at the fort, and that they continue to conduct church services on all Sundays and holidays in the church

in Ussu town. On the other hand, the mission, here, for the transfer of the school of the fort, including clothing for the children, is given an annual allowance from the royal treasury to the amount of 500 Rdl. g. Ct. and from the Mulatto treasury fund, 200 Rdl. g. Ct. (the allowance now offered to the girls' school would then cease). For maintenance of the church, the mission will be offered an annual allowance from the royal treasury, generally 50 Rdl. g. Ct.

The church and school at the fort have so far occasioned the following expenses: [287]

Salary for the catechist	600 Rdl.g.Ct.
“ for assistant teacher	180 “ “ “
“ in addition for ditto	48 “ “ “
“ for one part-time teacher	48 “ “ “
Clothing for the children twice a year	150 “ “ “
Other expenses for the school and church	100 “ “ “
Approx. cost of girls' school	<u>300 “ “ “</u>
Sum	1,426 Rdl.g.Ct.

While the regrettable situation of the school and the church, its fruitless existence, requires an annual expense of over 1,400 Rdl. g. Ct., we suggest a transition to the better; an organization of the school and the church which promise us a safe and workable existence for these institutions, in return for a fixed, inexpensive allowance from the government. We have not included in the calculation the not insignificant expenses the school and the church of the fort must bear in connection with the journeys of the catechists, the pensions to widows and so forth.

If this suggestion should meet the approval of the Board, we are of the opinion that the present assistant teacher, Christian Holm, could be employed at his present salary as senior interpreter in the possessions, with the obligation, in addition to being an interpreter, to teach those who might have the urge or desire an appointment at the fort as assistant interpreters, non-commissioned officers, etc., to speak and write Danish. The pupils of this interpreter's school should attend the mission schools together with the interpreter's school, since the latter school would only offer education in Danish, and therefore they could enjoy education in religion, arithmetic, etc., in the mission school.

Since the aim of this “interpreter school” is to produce Danish-

speaking officers for the garrison it would be suitable if the chief of guard assisted in the tuition.

We hope we have illustrated this case so completely [and further] that the statements of the catechist and the school commissioner will further enlighten the same, that it should be possible for it to be deliberated by the Board without the necessity of further information from here. Thereby we hope we have contributed to a quick resolution of the case, of which the conditions here are much in need²²¹.

Edw. Carstensen

J. Bergenhammer

²²¹ To the report of 16 October 1847, the Board accepted the proposition of the Establishment, but only “temporarily” and on the conditions that they annually received a report on the situation of the church and the school system (filed under G.J. 62/1850).

CLOSING THE BOOKS

[288] 15 November 1846

Ewald, a supercargo of Hamburg, is recommended for appointment as Danish consul in Guinea.

Ad G.J. 21/1847, filed under 596/1848.

Fort Christiansborg, 15 November 1846

Serving as a continuation of my letter to the distinguished Board of 22 October; I have had the opportunity of speaking with supercargo Ewald of Hamburg, who is one of the applicants mentioned in the letter of the Board of 13 September this year. I will hereby recommend Mr. Ewald for the office of consul, whose business should extend from Sierra Leone or Liberia to Quitta, with permission to establish factories in Ussu town and Quitta at Fort Prinsensten.

Edw. Carstensen

15 November 1846

Bergenhammer is sent home and Carstensen takes over all business. Two clerks are on their way from Denmark, but other new officials are needed. For the time being the new second clerk must be satisfied with only half salary. Unrest around the English and Dutch forts.

G.J. 24/1847, filed under 933/1849; duplicate 88/1847

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 15 November 1846

A brig from Hamborg that arrived here the day before yesterday, and will depart today for her home port, will take 2nd Assistant Bergenhammer away from the Coast. It was our decision that Bergenhammer should depart with the Danish transport ship that was expected here. Since, however, Bergenhammer's condition is so precarious, and his life is in imminent danger if his stay here is prolonged, we found it right that he should leave this place without delay, as long as we do not know how long the Danish transport ship can still be delayed.

We nourish only little hope of Bergenhammer's recovery. He is so

weak, both physically and spiritually, after more than 4 months of illness, that a recovery is highly unlikely. By sending [289] Bergenhammer away from here, we are doing all that we possibly can for his health. A certification by Doctor Hansen concerning B's illness is being forwarded²²².

From today and until the arrival of the transport ship, I will take over all business, which I actually have managed for the last months. Doctor Hansen has functioned as my personal clerk at the warehouse to my greatest satisfaction. Assistant Bergenhammer receives, from today, half the salary of a full- [time] 2nd assistant. An abstract of his salary account, included here, shows more details of his salary.

The passage to Hamburg for Assistant Bergenhammer has been paid for with 160 *pjasters* to supercargo Ewald. To the Danish resident minister and consul general in Hamburg a credit voucher of the sum of 100 Rbdl. silver for the continuation of the journey, is forwarded with Bergenhammer.

The delay of the Danish transport ship has so far prevented the materialization of the measures I had in mind for the quick repair of Fort Prinsensten. In spite of that delay I hope in 4-5 months time to see Prinsensten restored.

The two surnummerair assistants sent out, will respectively be temporary 1st and 2nd assistant. Then the vacancies will again be filled, but we will still be subject to emergencies without means to meet them, particularly in the event of my own departure from here.

I take the liberty of drawing the attention of the Board to the situation at this post. I am of the opinion that the dispatch of new officials will be necessary and that on dispatching them the changed conditions here are taken into consideration.

I take the liberty of noting that the surnummerair assistant to be sent out, who will be temporary 2nd assistant, only will receive *half the salary of a 2nd assistant*, i.e. 350 Rdl. g. Ct. (as long as Assistant Bergenhammer collects the other half of the salary), and the rules do not permit him to be paid *half the salary of surn. assistant* as compensation. The person in question cannot live in accordance with his position for 350 Rdl. g. Ct. per annum. I understand that the reserve assistant here must await the

²²² Bergenhammer did not make it home. He died on board the Hamburg brig Lorentz, on 25 November 1846, outside the west coast of Africa. (G.J. 30/1847).

results of the absentee's fate at home, but I am of the opinion that [290] in this case, since we know that the homebound servant *will not* return to the Coast, the temporary servant should, as soon as possible for good reasons, be raised to the full salary assigned to the post.

The situation in these establishments is satisfactory. Of political regard nothing particular has happened, some few palavers (for instance with Ningo town) have been settled successfully. On the contrary, the Dutch and the English authorities have had their hand full with the Negroes of Elmina and Fante. At Elmina the fort was forced to fire artillery against the Negroes fighting amongst themselves. From Cape Coast an expedition was set out against a rebellious Fante chief. The water shortage continues to a disturbing degree. The health situation is good.

With the Danish transport ship, if not before, I will continue this report, in which I have been hampered by lack of time.

Edw. Carstensen

7 December 1846

It is necessary that a Danish warship arrives at the Gold Coast every year. One of the ships leaving for the West Indies must change its route accordingly and in order to reach the West Indies in the good season, must call at Guinea in June. This will be during the rainy season, but the ships of other nations are not deterred from calling at the Coast during that period. The ship should call at Gorée, Sao Tomé and if possible, other ports, en route.

G.J. 29/1847; duplicate 135/1847. Here after the duplicate.

The original is in the journal referred to as 921/1849, and here is also a front cover, marked 29/1847, with the note: "For circulation among the members of the Board", and the actual document does not exist under the abovementioned journal number.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 7 December 1846

The issue of a warship sailing annually to Guinea is of such an importance to the Guinean establishments that, if possible, it should be determined

that a warship be sent to the Coast every year as imperative to the very existence of the Establishment. [291]

The usefulness of a specific journey of a warship to Guinea is obvious, and we must accept it as recognized and approved that as long as these establishments exist, as long as the slave trade is to be opposed, Denmark must, at least annually – even if only for a few days ever year – send a warship to support the order and discourage the slave traders in Danish Guinea. We must assume that since such a detour to Guinea of one warship, sailing to the West Indies, was pointed as being in the interests of all, then this issue regarding the trip to Guinea would have achieved the desired determination, and only considerable obstacles could, in the future, disrupt a well-organized navigation route.

We must assume that the brig that is sent to the West Indies annually could just as easily be used for an annual trip to Guinea. This, in itself a convenient arrangement, has so far had the disadvantage that by going to Guinea in October-November, it would not reach the West Indies until November-December. This, in turn, would hinder the brig already [waiting] in the West Indies from reaching Copenhagen before the winter season, which means that the two brigs would have to stay in the West Indies for several months. That would cause more expenses for the government, dissatisfaction among the officers and the crew, who “without necessity” would be hindered from coming home after a cruise that had already lasted one and a half years.

I deliberately express “without necessity”, because in my opinion the Guinean-West Indian cruise of a war brig easily have been organized so that those disadvantages could be avoided. It would then be an advantage for the *solimitterne*²²³ to be called out for royal service as early as possible. And it should not, to my knowledge, be an obstacle, in my opinion, for the crew of the naval ship for Guinea-the West Indies to be called out early enough to meet in Copenhagen toward the end of March, at the latest. The brig for Guinea-the West Indies could then leave Copenhagen on the last days of March or the first days of April. After calling at Madeira and two to three ports on the west coast of Africa - of which more later - the warship might reach Christiansborg medio June at the latest, and leave there ultimo June at the latest. In the middle of August, at the latest, the brig will [292]reach

²²³ *Solimitter*, Danish coastal villeins obliged to war service at sea.

the West Indies, just in time to relieve the brig stationed there. The brig thus relieved may be expected to reach Copenhagen by the end of September; one brig's Guinean-West Indian cruise would thus last from April to September; both included would take one and a half years.

It has been considered inadvisable to send warships to Guinea outside the months of October-March, namely the dry months. It is, however, doubtful whether one should fear more the effect of the climate here in April-September than in October-March. I would have dwelt more on this question if it was a matter of sending Europeans out to take up residence *ashore*, but we are only talking about the climate *at sea*, about the effect of the climate on the officers or others, who will be exposed to the climate ashore for only a few days.

At the sea the climate in the Gulf of Guinea is healthy the year round, compared to that ashore. The rainy season (April-September) even has the advantage that the northerners would not meet the burning heat of the dry season, nor the frequent calms, that are so troublesome on board ship. On the contrary, a warship in the Gulf of Guinea, south of the latitude of Sierra Leone, will meet the steady, fresh winds that blow in the months of April-September. The voyage from Copenhagen would also take place in a season during which a constant calm would hardly occur north of the Gulf of Guinea. The warship would reach the gulf at the same time as the so-called great rainy season. This rainy season is called the great because usually rich showers will occur (the so-called tornadoes), but these showers, these tornadoes, are of short duration. They rise up on the eastern horizon with sufficient notice for the sailor. The rough wind and rain, but without waves, will last for 2-4 hours, and then the weather is pleasant again. The tornadoes might occur several times during a week, but sometimes weeks might pass without a change in the fine, stable weather. The merchant ships of the various nations do not try to avoid the Gulf of Guinea during the rainy season, and it is known that the fleets of three nations sail in the gulf the whole year round.

If the abovementioned remarks are not found to be sufficient to make a permanent plan for the Guinean-West Indian cruises, I am of the opinion that there should be a trial immediately, [293] that the warship that will be stationed in the West Indies in 1847, be equipped in March 1847 in order to leave for Guinea during the first days of

April. The brig should, as usual, call at Madeira, but then she should call at the island of Gorée at Cap Verde, for 1 or 2 days, to visit the French-Guinean (West African) sea bases there. The forts Elmina and Cape Coast should not be passed by, since the chief of a warship makes a visit of courtesy to the governors at those forts, which is to observe and only delays the warship for 24 hours at each fort.

The instructions of the Chief should still allow him to call at the islands of St. Thomas and Princes²²⁴ for the sake of water supply, should he meet any difficulties at the forts because of water shortage or the like. I cannot advise strongly enough against a warship being sent to Guinea with such limited instructions as the last one, namely to sail from Copenhagen over Madeira to Christiansborg and then from here to the West Indies without communicating with anyone else on the Coast.

At this time the Gulf of Guinea should attract attention, since in my opinion the extensive measures to restrain the slave trade have proved to be insufficient, and that just this short-coming necessarily must generate *new* measures, and those measures, which, as they will carry the mark of humanity, will promote the interests of the tropical colonies as well. It is in that respect necessary that Denmark observes the developments; the interests of our West Indian colonies must be of the greatest importance to us. Guinea and the West Indies must of necessity be closely connected, they will, in time, work mutually *for* each other.

The chief of a warship might by calling at the French West African station, by this and other means observe the situation in the Gulf of Guinea, reach conclusions that *might* be considered worthy of closer examination.

Edw. Carstensen

|294|10 December 1846

The arrival of the bark Heinrich Sørensen.

G.J.27/1847

224 Sao Tomé and Príncipe, islands in the Gulf of Guinea, then belonging to Portugal.

CLOSING THE BOOKS

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 10 December 1846

Hereby a report to the distinguished Board, that the bark *H. Sørensen*, Captain Kanopka, arrived in the roads today. All well on board.

The brig *Edw. Coulston* departs for England (Bristol) this afternoon, carrying letters from the Establishment.

Edw. Carstensen

29 December 1846

The visit of the bark Heinrich Sørensen and its expedition to Quitta. The arrival of R. Schmidt and C. F. Smith. Prinsenstein is now partly restored. It is quiet around the forts.

G.J. 98/1847; duplicate 137/1847

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 29 December 1846

On 25 December the bark *Heinrich Sørensen* sailed off from the roads after finishing a quick and good unloading. Captain Kanopka²²⁵ undertook to carry Lieut. Svedstrup with 7 soldiers and the same number of workers to Fort Prinsenstein. Furthermore, some materials like boards, tar, tools, etc., were on board to be unloaded at Quitta. Chief of Guard Nørregaard accompanied Svedstrup to Quitta in order to help him organizing the dispatched material there. Nørregaard²²⁶ is to return to the chief fort with Governor Carstensen, when he is returning from Prinsenstein *ultimo* January. [295]

²²⁵ Friedrich Ernst Kanopka, master of a vessel (1819-54), navigated the bark *Heinrich Sørensen* on several voyages to the West Indies, arrived on 19 December 1846 at Christiansborg.

²²⁶ Jens Ferdinand Nørregaard, "fourer" at the artillery's artisan working force, appointed at a royal resolution of 18 May 1846 as seargent in Guinea (G.J. 313/1846). According to R.E.Schmidt's report of 20 February 1849 (G.J. 131/1847) Nørregaard was delegated to assist Lieutenant Svedstrup with the reconstruction of Prinsenstein. He was, however, severely attacked by ague, and even though he received medical aid from an English warship, he died on 28 January 1847 after 10 days of illness.

On 15 December the newly-arrived civil servants took over their respective functions, namely Assistant R. Schmidt²²⁷ as temporary warehouse keeper and Reserve Assistant C.F. Smith²²⁸ as bookkeeper. Organizing the cargo and copying the account books, terminating the accounts, etc., engaged to such an extent all working capacity that there is no time left to complete the official correspondence. However, duplicates, extracts of the Council Protocol, paperwork for the cargo, are expected to be dispatched by medio January.

At Fort Prinsenstein the workers are proceeding; the two bastions that had collapsed have been raised again. In the middle of next month Governor Carstensen intends to go to the abovementioned fort to organize the final repairs.

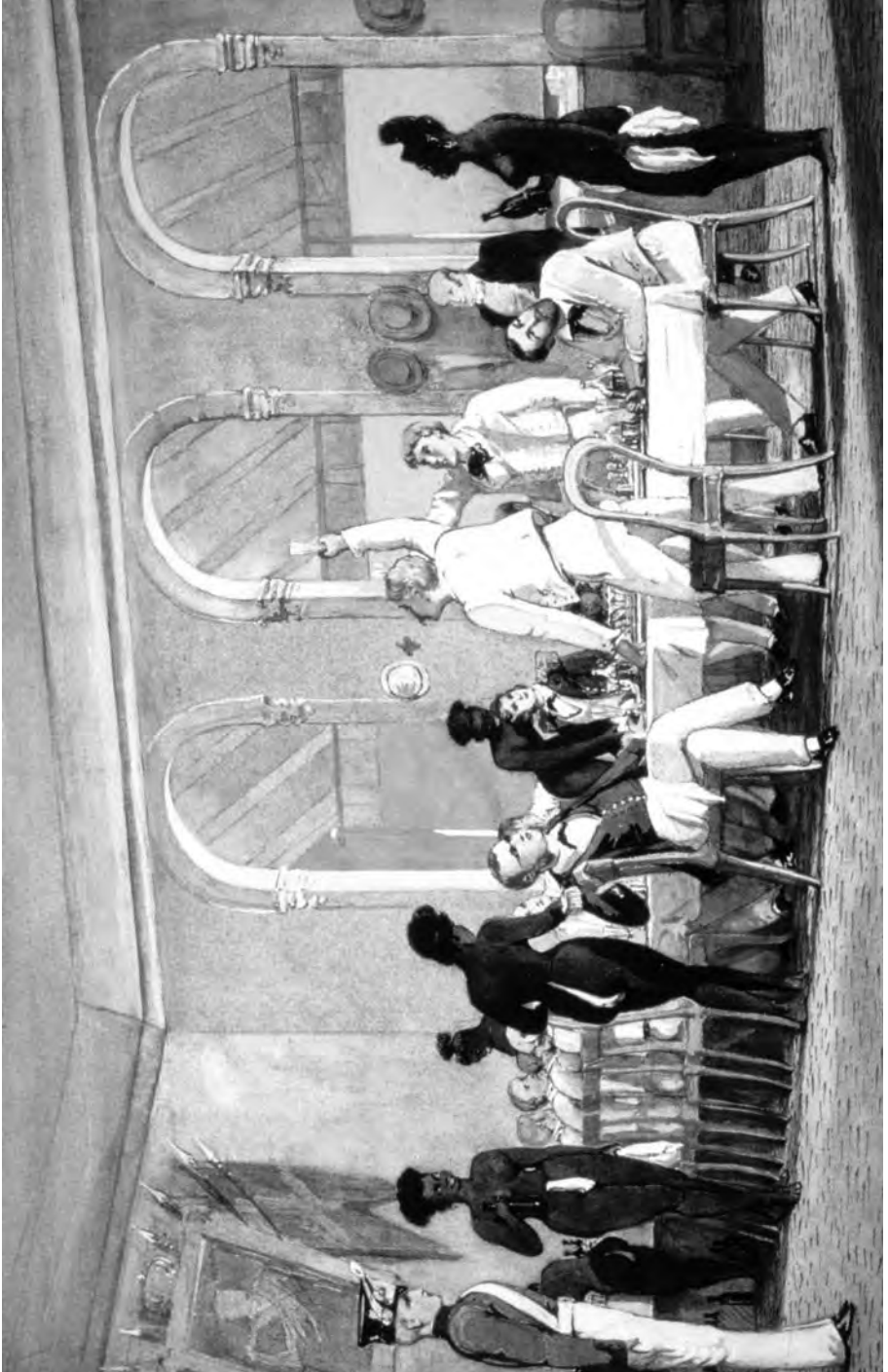
In the Danish-Guinean establishments there prevails undisturbed calm. In the English and the Dutch possessions there is again peace among the Negro tribes that had intended to fight a war against each other. Various rumours are circling regarding the Ashantis, namely that they are arming against the Fante Negroes.

The health situation is good at the moment. Rain has been lacking for so long that we fear a water shortage very soon. Captain Kanopka had to delay the filling of water until the ship arrived at Quitta.

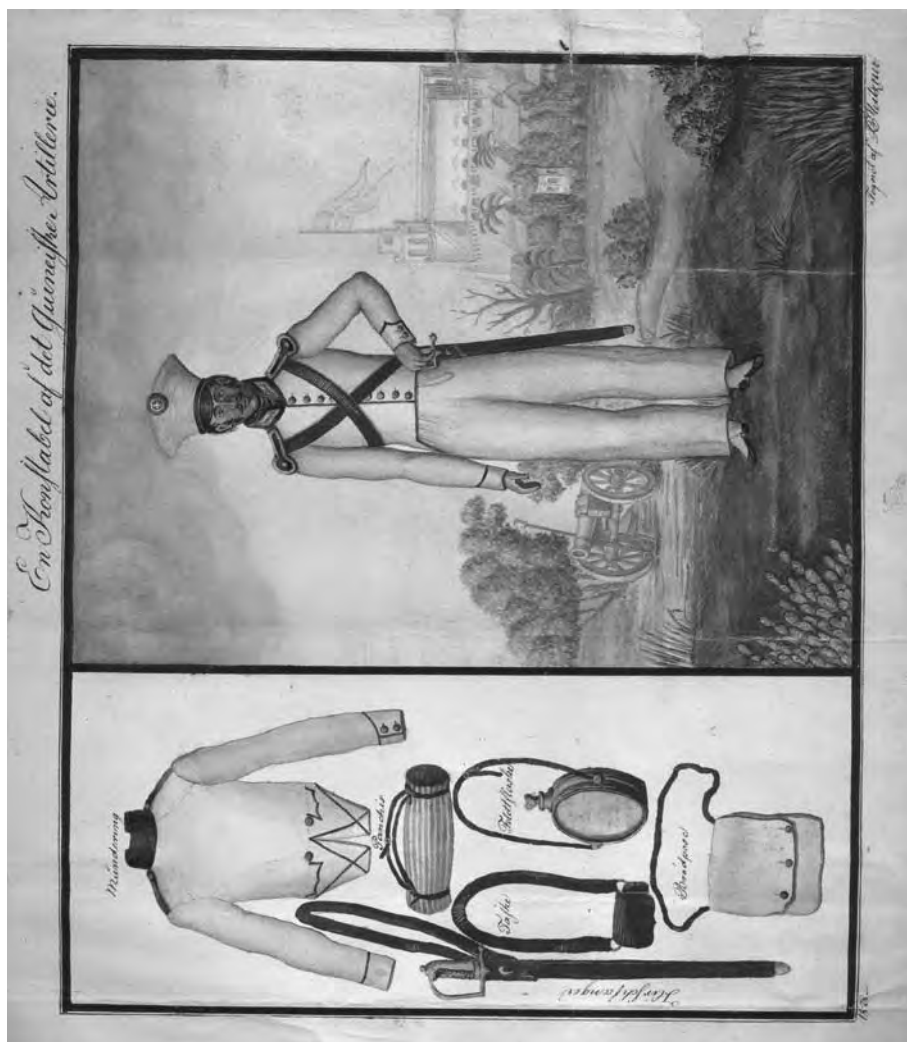
Edw. Carstensen

²²⁷ Rasmus Emil Schmidt, student, surnummeraire assistant in Guinea 25 May 1846, 2nd assistant 28 August 1846, 1st assistant 7 April 1847, interim governor 10 April 1847- 20 February 1850.

²²⁸ Christian Frederik Smith, b.1815, exam. jur. 1844.

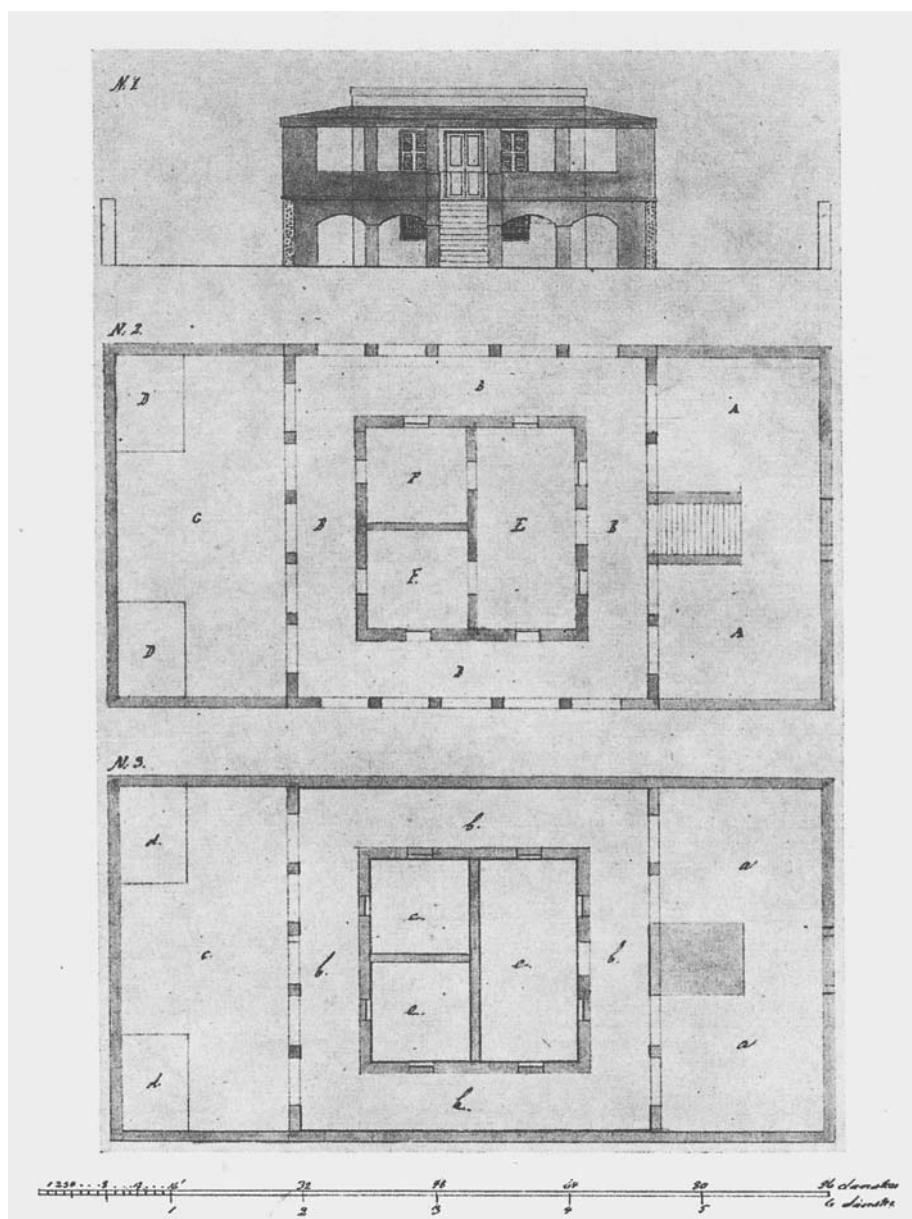


Luncheon at Fort Christiansborg. A water colour painted by Francois, Prince de Joinville, son of Louise Phillippe, citizen king of France, after his visit to fort Christiansborg in 1843.



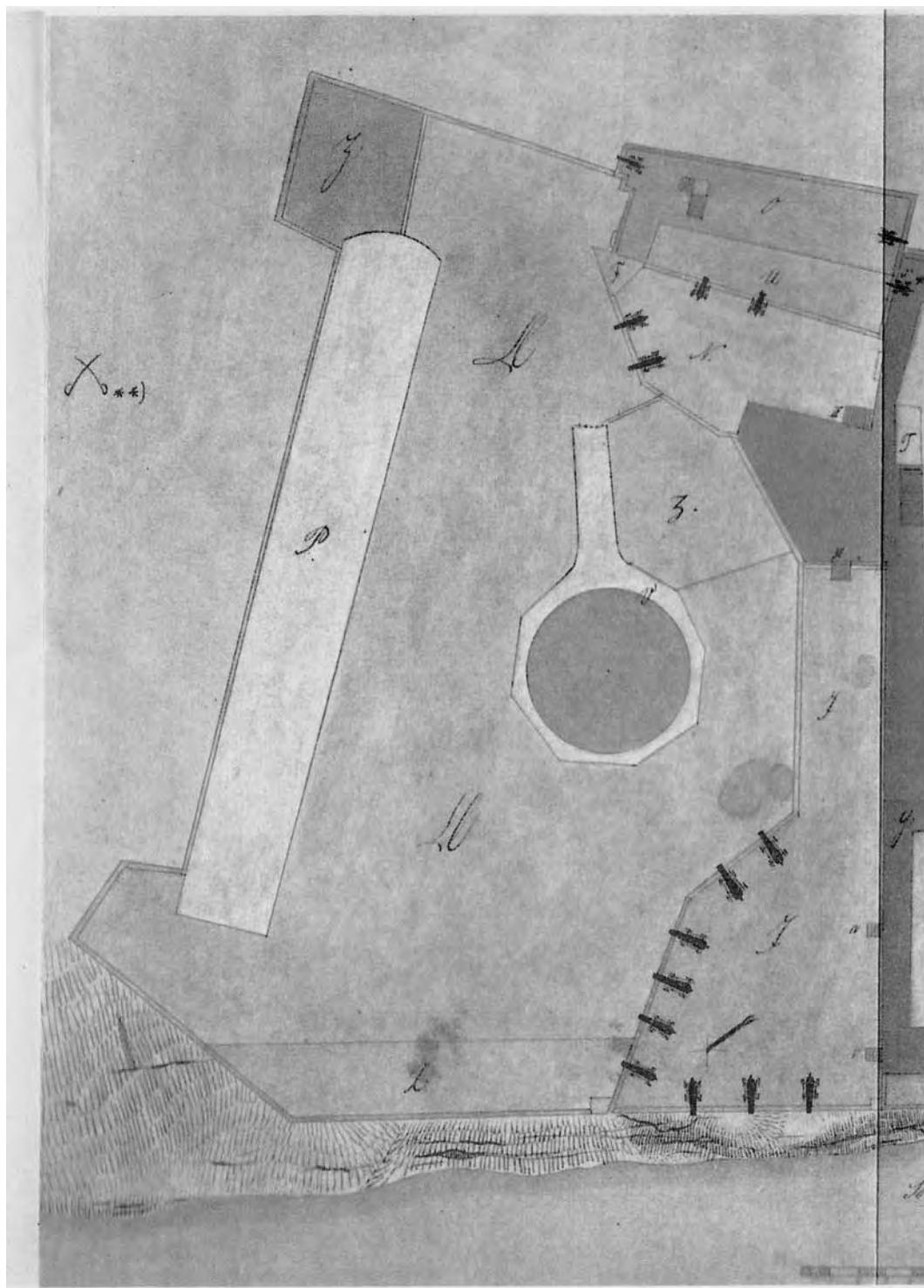
A drawing of a non-commissioned officer at the Guinean artillery.

The jacket of the uniform consists of white linen with brass buttons, collar and cuffs of blue topsay with golden badges, trousers of white linen. To the uniform also belong boots and shoes, as well as a bright straw chacot with a leather peak and a buckled strap behind the head, and a red-white kokard with a cross in front. The waist belt is black, with a small purse attached. Panchis is a piece of cotton approx. 5 cm long and 1,3 cm wide, which serves as an overcoat; but if not used, is carried on the back with shoulder straps. To the uniform belong a bread purse and a blue coloured container of wood. Hirschfængere is not only useful in battle, but also to clear the ground through the thick forest.



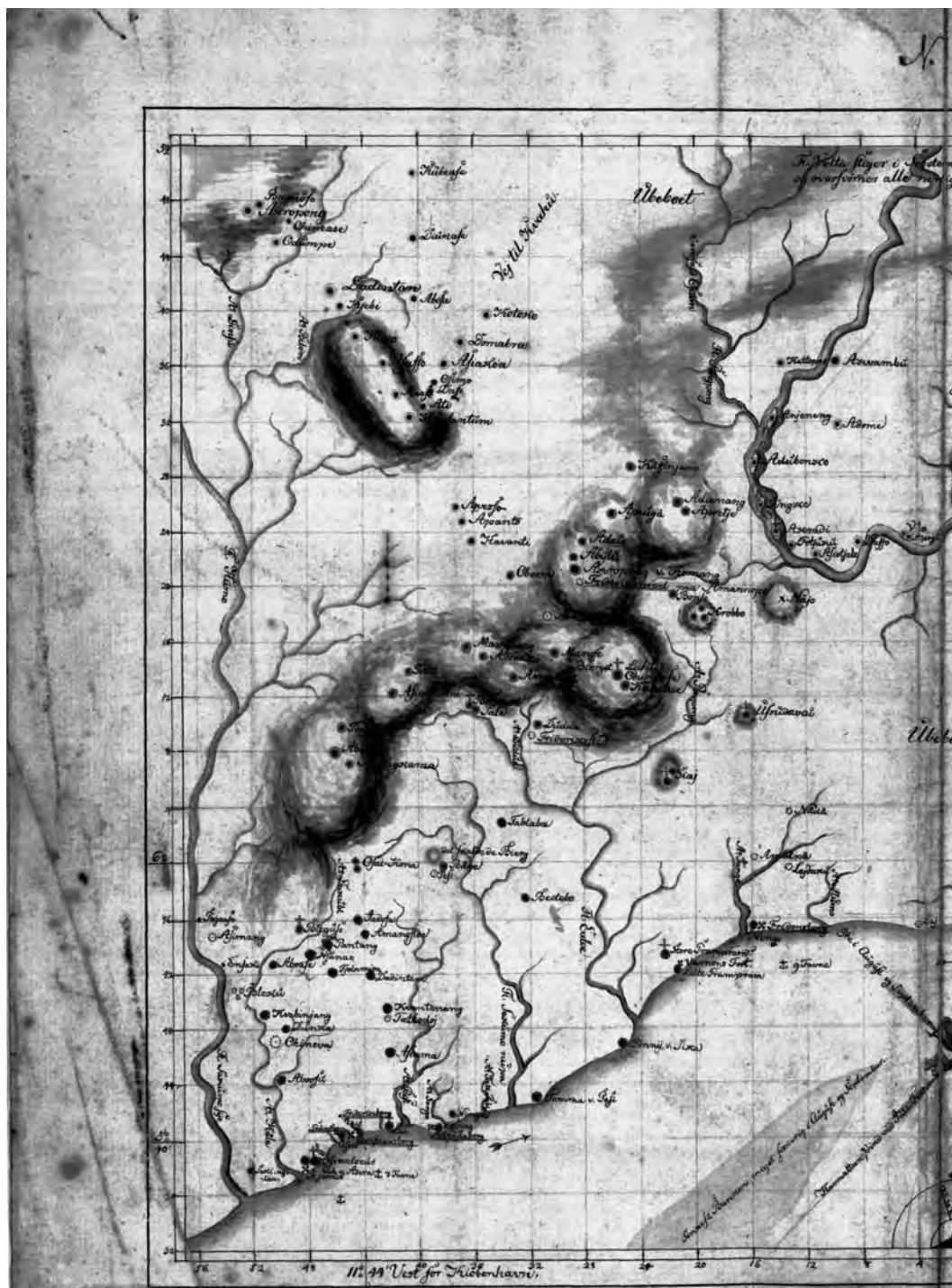
A drawing of the official residences outside Christiansborg.

Nr 1: facade towards the frontyard ; Nr 2: Upper floor: front yard, B surrounding gallery, C back yard, D kitchen and washhouse, E hall, F the smaller rooms; Nr 3: Ground floor: A front yard, B arches below the gallery, C back yard, D kitchen and washhouse, E rooms for servants and storage.





Part of the original ground plan drawn by Lieutenant Svedstrup on 30 April 1847. A governor residence B church tower C church tower D official residences C three washhouses E small storage houses for armoury and cannon equipment G yard H stairs to 1st and 2nd gallery I flag gallery J unmounted bastion K sea battery L battery M courtine over gate N western bastion O outwork battery P workshop buildings Q part of lower gallery R ravelin S cow shed T gallery and entrance to 3rd gallery U yard where prisoners are kept during the day V cistern X unmounted sea battery Y upper gallery of governor residence Z cow shed A outwork Ø latrines (X) roofing (plattninger) over storage rooms I-X stairs.
 **) the place where the child sacrifices took place.



Map of the Danish possessions in Guinea, made by Peter Thonning in 1802.



337,704

CLOSING THE BOOKS

20 February 1847

Half of the fee for handling dept-palavers should be paid to the civil servant who settles them.

G.J. 129/1847, filed under 758/1849; duplicate 188/1847.

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 20 February 1847

While anticipating approval of the Board, on 16th this month, it was decided by a full Council that in future half [296] of the fee of the dept-palavers will be paid to the civil servant who settles them, effective from 1 January this year.

Edw. Carstensen

R. E. Schmidt

C. F. Smith

24 May 1847

On 10 April, Governor Carstensen went on leave.

G.J. 152/1847; filed under 944/1849.

The brig *Emily*, 24 May 1847

I hereby most humbly announce to the distinguished Board that on 10 April this year, I took advantage of the most graciously given permission, of 19 November 1845, to travel, when, forced by a weak constitution, I transferred the management of the Guinean Establishment to the Messrs R.E. Schmidt, C.F. Smith and Schultz²²⁹, and left Chief Fort Christiansborg on board the brig *Emily*, Capt. Dring.

Immediately after my arrival in London, I will continue my journey to the fatherland.

Edw. Carstensen

5 July 1847

One of the three subordinate civil servants has died, and a successor should be sent

²²⁹ Hugo Bernhard Schultz, exam.jur 1822, surnummaire assistant in Guinea 1846, arrived at Christiansborg 1 May 1847.

out chosen among the sergeants of the artillery but with the rank of lieutenant. Sergeant Nielsen should also be promoted to the rank of lieutenant. G.J.168/1847, filed under 925/1849.

Copenhagen, 5 July 1847

The distinguished Board is familiar with the circumstances in the Danish-Guinean possessions almost a year ago, that occasioned the dispatch of 2 European officers to the Guinean troops. [297] The number of the subordinate officers thereby increased to three, and they functioned respectively as chief of guard at Fort Christiansborg, as commander at Prinsensten, while the third remained available and moreover assisted in the military service of the chief fort.

As a result of the death of Sergeant Nørregaard at Fort Prinsensten in January this year, the subordinate personnel of European officers consists at the moment, presumably, of Lieutenant Svedstrup and Sergeant Nielsen²³⁰. I am of the opinion that a third officer should be sent out with the outbound war ship to the Guinea Coast, and this is more pressing since Sergeant Nielsen at the time I left the Coast, still had not been through the climate fever, so we ought to be prepared to meet eventualities.

I will take the liberty, closely connected to the above, to present to the Board what is the most desirable, that the young people who are employed or sent out to Guinea to serve there as chief of guard and chief of the fort, are given the rank corresponding to those positions, that they at the time of the dispatch from here are given the rank of lieutenant in the Guinean troops. I presume that when it is known that when the frequently reported military appointments have the rank of lieutenant, the most able sergeants of the artillery will be among the applicants. By offering the person in question the rank of lieutenant, we will also see that he will *in reality* be treated as an officer in Guinea, that it will not be necessary to give him local names whose only purpose are *to hide* that he is only a sergeant, and thus in accordance with the

²³⁰ Lauritz Nielsen, "bomber" at the artillery, appointed by a royal resolution 18 May 1846 as sergeant in Guinea, appointed in 1849 as second-lieutenant, died the same year, 22 years old. (G.J.746 and 782/1849).

military etiquette, is excluded from the officers' mess and company.

In addition, and not the least important situation, is that our neighbours in Guinea have lieutenants in the garrison, on visits, in Fort St. James, and, in accordance with the Guinean relations, every European, as far possible and whenever the situation does not absolutely prevent it, will be regarded and treated as a gentleman. The Danish-European officers, in spite of being only sergeants, are invited to mutual meals and parties, because they are called 'chief of guard', 'chief of the fort' and so forth. But it is known, and will be known, that they [298] are only sergeants, and the foreign officers *might regard* it as an insult that a sergeant joins them at the dinner parties.

To support my arguments given above, I recommend to the consideration and resolution of the Board that the young men (sergeants) who in future will be sent out as European officers to the Guinean troops, upon their appointments to the mentioned posts, even before their departure to Guinea, be given the rank of second- lieutenant.

I am of the opinion that one should not deviate from the hitherto practised rule of recruiting those young military men from among the lower ranks of the artillery. One will have a guarantee of competence and capability, which cannot be appreciated enough. Thus it will be of great importance, provided that the rank of lieutenant is granted to the person in question, that the vacancies of the positions as second-lieutenant in Guinea are announced with the clause, "to be applied for by non-commissioned officers of the artillery", that it will be a general rule that only these, in general very practical and competent military men, should be taken into consideration.

If my recommendation is approved it will have a retroactive effect on Sergeant Nielsen in Guinea, who, presumably, will be granted the rank of second- lieutenant. In that respect it is my pleasure to be able to give Sergeant Nielsen the highest recommendation for his service during the five months he served under me in Guinea²³¹.

Edw. Carstensen

²³¹ This recommendation was approved by a royal resolution 8 August 1847. (G.J. 209/1849).

10 July 1847

Jørgen Sonne, a Mulatto, has asked permission to leave his post as non-commissioned officer. He has gone to Denmark, but he cannot tolerate the climate there. Carstensen now applies for his return to Guinea.

G.J. 170/1847, filed under 599/1848.

Copenhagen, 10 July 1847

I take the liberty of recommending to the distinguished Board the resolution of the following case:

In December the non-commissioned officer of the Guinean troops, Customs Assistant Jørgen Sonne, after an application, was granted his resignation [299] from service at the Chief Fort Christiansborg. His intention was to be able to leave the Coast with the bark *Heinrich Sørensen*, Captain Kanopka, to, if possible, seek a living in the West Indies or in Denmark.

The above mentioned J. Sonne arrived here several months ago. He became a waiter at a public place, but his health became so weak, he tolerated the Nordic climate so poorly, that he was discharged. The schoolteacher Jørgensen²³², at whose school several boys from Guinea have enjoyed and are enjoying their upbringing, took care of Sonne, who had presented himself to him, begging for his assistance. It would be desirable if J. Sonne could be sent back to Guinea with the outbound Danish war ship. He suffers from homesickness and thus will not be able to work for his subsistence here. In Guinea, however, he will again be useful as customs assistant at the Chief Fort Christiansborg.

I take the liberty of recommending for the approval of the Board that Jørgen Sonne should be granted a free journey to Guinea with plain ship's fare, on the brig *Ørnen*, bound for Guinea; that school teacher Jørgensen should be given compensation for Sonne's stay in his house, expenses, as far as I know, of approximately 30 Rbd., as long as those are refunded in Guinea by Sonne himself²³³.

Edw. Carstensen

²³² H. Jørgensen, a pyrotechnist of the artillery, school head master, *Dannebrogsmænd*.

²³³ Jørgen Sonne, received on 24 July 1847 the permission to leave Denmark with the brig *Ørnen* (G.J. 178/1847). On his return to Guinea, he was appointed as supervisor at Fort Augustaborg and as interpreter (G.J. 404/1848).

7- 9 September 1847

Governor Carstensen presents his complete proposal for changes in the administration of the Establishment. Several Guinean officials have approved of it. Repeating a long series of earlier proposals for alterations of details by Carstensen, new ones are added. It aims to introduce a modern and simplified system of administration for the Danish possessions in Guinea. A brisk private trade is evolving on the Gold Coast, and the Danish trade [300] should be abolished. The Establishment should only deal in the maintenance of law and order, the aim in keeping the territories must serve the spread of civilization and industry.

If the civil servants are no longer allowed to take part in trade, their salaries should be raised. The supply of merchandise to the fort can cease, the treasury and the accounting systems be reduced. The slaves should be freed, and tenders put out for repairs on the forts. Reforms of the church and of education are already well under way. Defence forces should be reorganized and armaments reduced. The central military depot is located at Fort Christiansborg, from which orders should be sent out. Besides Fort Prinsensten, Fort Kongensten should also be restored, at the forts Fredensborg and Augustaborg the guard quarters are maintained, a military post should be established in Akuapem. Finally, a budget is drawn up, and Carstensen points out that, especially since his arrival at Fort Christiansborg, a change has taken place in the allocation of expenses.

G.J. 240/1847, filed under 43/1850.

Copenhagen, 9 September 1847

Enclosed are rendered to the distinguished Board the letters and reports from Guinea, announced by me on 10 July this year, regarding the changes in the Guinean administration. They are now followed by my complete proposals for changes in the Guinean administration. In the introduction to those proposals, I have explained why the preparations of a new "Regulation for the Guinean possessions" should be postponed until the resolutions on the points in the proposition, which will now be presented to the distinguished Board. Included in the preparation of [a set of] new instructions will be the regulation

of the civil administration, of the judiciary authority, etc., which have been the subject of the Guinean correspondence.

Edw. Carstensen

Copenhagen, 7 September 1847

I have, during my five years stay in Guinea, seriously considered the proposals for changes in the administration of the Guinean possessions, which will be the subject of consideration below. They were developed, partly alone, partly with others, and justified in the reports to the Board. They were presented, at different times, to the Guinean civil servants for their consideration and [301] thus were totally approved of, namely by the Messrs. G. Lutterodt, Schumacher and Bergenhammer. Furthermore, Messrs. R.E. Schmidt, C.F. Smith and Schultz have, as shown in the attached statement, also approved of the proposed suggestions.

Before I start to deal with this case, I will take the liberty of remarking that in my opinion the particular suggestions on changes in the Guinean administration, and everything connected to them, must first be explained and presented to the Board for their consideration and further treatment. Not until then, when the most important parts of the proposed changes have been approved of, and can thus be effectuated, do I believe that one can, in accordance with the prevailing accepted rules, establish the desired order, consequence and completeness of an “Instructions for the management of the Guinean possessions”.

The purpose of the proposed changes in the administration of the Guinean possessions is to provide these possessions with a management competent to handling the present situation; to organize the management so that, while meeting fully the requirements of the day, also, on the same basis, would be able to manage the increases that a possible favourable market situation in Guinea might bring about in the future.

The management of the Guinean possessions should as far as possible be simplified, at the same time as the adequacy [in numbers] of the personnel must be observed, so that the business is manageable, that,

in case of deaths or long term illnesses, it could easily be taken over by another civil servant; that, if possible, it would not inflict financial responsibility on the civil servant, that the requirements of the royal treasury thus be observed.

The present set of instructions for the management of the Guinean possessions was composed at a time when a trade monopoly was regarded as the right principle in securing the interests of the subjects (the civil servants); when the Guinean possessions were regarded as factories, whose civil servants were the first merchants, whose warehouses were provided with goods at royal expense.

The situation in Guinea has changed markedly at those places where legal trade has replaced the slave trade, and nowhere is this to such an extent as on the Gold Coast. Instead of, as previously, the slave trade concentrated the trade at the slave stations (the forts), now the legal trade is expanding, with [302] goods in exchange for gold dust, oil, ivory, etc., without limit. Native traders travel around the country, making no distinction between English and Danish territory, and trade with the more important merchants, mostly goods taken on credit. A trade monopoly in Danish Guinea is now an illusion. The present situation is most to the advantage of the English, while it hinders other nations in competing in the trade that the English are carrying throughout all the Danish possessions, mainly by the help of local trading clerks.

When one abandons the old principle, by which, namely, the Guinean possessions were monopolized factories, one has to establish a new one. On this, I am of the opinion that we should follow the example of the English who, in Guinea, provide for the administration of the country, for peace and order in the country, for the encouragement of trade and its distribution, and otherwise, leave it to the subjects of the nations to benefit from the efforts and enterprise of the administration in the given direction. I am of the opinion that the future management of the "Danish Guinea" should see to it that the culture of the country, the commercial relations, that the industry and the civilization are protected as much as possible, are encouraged and helped along. Such a numerically weak administration as the Danish-Guinean should, with the above in mind, has a sufficiently important task to perform, a task, which can only be fulfilled by the use of tact and competence, given the weak means and powers that are at their disposal for preserving order in a territory as huge as the Danish Guinea.

Thus the principles for the future administration of Danish Guinea should be to protect, to encourage, to assist the efforts to the development of the country and the people, to protect trade and civilization, to expand culture and industry, to achieve a good knowledge of the nature of the country and the requirements of the people, its ways and customs, etc. The administration should pursue the above with independence, unbiased of own interests, but at the same time the efforts should be sufficiently rewarded, its position must command obedience, must inspire respect.

It is, in accordance with the above, a matter of course that the opportunity of participating in trade is enticing to the Guinean civil servants, as a remnant of the trade monopoly system in Guinea, is unsuitable for men [303] that would judge in matters concerning trade, to ensure that trade was equally open to everyone.

Despite the insignificance of the traffic in goods, which in the last years have been undertaken by Danish-Guinean civil servants, one should take into consideration that the salaries of those servants, at that time, were determined with regard to the benefit that the negotiation of the salary and the turn over of goods might bring. It will thus be reasonable that the civil servants of Guinea are given a suitable compensation for the lack of income, which has been felt in recent years, as a result of a poor market situation. I have taken the liberty of estimating this allowance, or increase in salary, in the present draft for a budget for the Danish-Guinean possessions.

Prohibition of trade for the civil servants, and the free access to subjects of all nations, along with the Danish subjects, to trade in Danish Guinea, will make it necessary for all the older measures that function in an opposite direction should cease and be replaced by new ones. Thus the Establishment's provisions of goods will cease, the associated maintenance of warehouse, warehouse management and bookkeeping, as well as the inadequate responsibility with the order and maintenance of the stock, will be replaced by a well-organized treasury and accountancy. When all the expenses of the Establishment are cleared up in ready money, the accounts will thus be simplified: that every month the treasurer, in accordance with instructions from the bookkeeper, pays the salaries, pensions and so forth, and every week, in accordance with the bookkeeper's instructions, the running expenses of

the Establishment. Every month the treasurer collects from the entire Establishment the sum that is needed for the regular monthly expenses. Larger, extraordinary expenses will be taken care of by the treasurer in accordance with special arrangements by the Establishment. All the cash will be kept by the Establishment, of which each of three members has one of the three keys to the money box, and the responsibility of the box is shared by the entire Establishment.

In order to establish the desired economy for the rehabilitation of the forts and the official residences of the Establishment, it will be necessary to abolish the constant subsistence of the crowd of useless workers, who, under the name of “the villeins of the King”, receive salaries and pensions, [304] whether their work has been required during the whole year through or not. These villeins should be free. The maintenance of the forts and the residences takes place every year at specific times by contract or workers hired for piece work. The workshops of Fort Christiansborg are made available to the most competent joiners, blacksmiths and the coopers, in exchange for their carrying out smaller, urgent repairs after finishing their contract work, and also keep a number of apprentices to be trained in properly in those crafts.

I will here omit my proposals for the church and school system of the Establishment. I will presume that my proposition regarding this case has been taken under consideration, that a decision regarding this would have been disclosed before the points of proposition worked out here, might be ready for a decision. It is, however, a matter of course that the measures concerning the church and the school system, under the direction of the Basel Mission, will later be connected to the points proposed here, and thus be included among the regulations for the Guinean Establishment.

The defence force of the Establishment has so far not been subject to any regulation, despite its desirability. The purpose of a defence system in Guinea should be, in relation to time and place, to produce a suitable force in order to give the arrangements of the administration the correct strength. It should be based on conditions in times of peace, the stores and the remaining stock of the depot to be carefully adjusted to the climate. If extraordinary circumstances require special measures and equipment, they should be prepared according to the correspondence with the Board, in the mother country, and carried out for execution, preferably by her navy.

The regulation of the defence system requires the stipulation of 1) the number of troops and 2) the nature of the armament. The regulation would hereby further influence the calculations of the budget. The armament should be maintained responsibly, and the depot ought to be supplied with only the most essential [items], that is, with no more ready ammunition and produced missiles than what are required for the moment.

Chief Fort Christiansborg is to be the depot for the troops and the weapons, from which the necessary commands to outer military stations will be sent, and to which the chiefs of the forts and the stations send their reports and accounts. [305]

Fort Prinsensten is the easternmost and most distant fortified point. This location requires a sufficient garrison under the command of a European officer (a lieutenant of the troops). Furthermore, the fort should be maintained in a responsible manner.

Fort Kongensten is maintained as a military station, thus it must provide living quarters for one non-commissioned officer and 2 privates and a proper prison. Following a plan that I drafted during my stay at Kongensten in January this year, the reduction and the repair of the living quarters, the altered use and repair of the bastions and the *courtines*, could be effectuated without exceeding the sum estimated for repairs of Fort Prinsensten alone.

At the forts Fredensborg and Augustaborg a non-commissioned officer and a soldier could still raise the flag and keep an eye on the surrounding towns of Ningo and Thessing; only the watch houses would be maintained.

In Akuapem a military station is absolutely necessary. The cabuceer of Akuapem is of the same opinion, since its presence would make his authority more visible. The Establishment ought to desire it because it is advisable to keep a watch over the interior in order to give the efforts of the missionaries in those mountains the appropriate authority, and, finally, to have a station in the mountains to where the convalescents could be sent to find a possibly healthier climate. Such a station should be located close to the town of Akropong and should consist of a small dwelling with a ring wall and a guard house. They should all be built of materials found locally, as should the residences of the missionaries. The expenses connected to such a station, would not be extensive. I

expect the building will cost 500 Rdl. g. Ct.. The annual subsistence is calculated into the proposed budget, as well as the extra salaries for the garrison.

I think I have now argued sufficiently for the following points of the proposal, I have avoided the verbosity with which the proposed changes have developed in the Guinean reports. On the contrary I may refer to those reports [in places] where my presentation here might be inadequate.

Proposals for the consideration of the distinguished Board

1. to withdraw the access to trade from the Guinean civil servants [306]; as unsuitable for men who partly individually, partly assembled, constitute the executive and the legal authority of the locality.
2. that the Guinean civil servants are entitled to a suitable supplement in salary, because of the monetary loss the prohibition on trade would entail.
3. as a consequence of the prohibition on trade, any dispatches and every stock of goods on behalf of the royal treasury in order to accommodate for the expenses in Guinea, should cease, whereas all salaries and other expenses should be dealt with in cash.
4. that the trade in Danish Guinea is open to all subjects of all nations, just as it is to Danish citizens.
5. that because of the discontinuation of the warehouse operation and its consequently complicated bookkeeping, the administrative personnel in future will consist of the governor and two Council members, who, together will constitute the Danish Guinean Establishment. The first Council member will function as bookkeeper, secretary and *notarius publicus*, the other Council member as treasurer, estate administrator and auctioneer. An assistant should be available for the bookkeeping.
6. that all the so called “royal villeins” should be free, and that all future work should be performed by quotation or by hired workers on contract.
7. that the defence force is established permanently as in times of peace:

- a. that the Chief Fort Christiansborg is the troop and weapon depot, from which all orders are issued, and to which all reports and accounts are delivered.
- b. The Guinean troops consist of:

3 lieutenants	(Europeans)
1 sergeant	(locals)
8 non-commissioned officers	"
80 privates	"
4 musicians	"

- c. Fort Prinsensten is maintained in good condition and is manned with a sufficient garrison under European command. [307]
- d. Fort Kongensten is made habitable for a non-commissioned officer and 2 privates, as well as supplied with a justifiable arrest.
- e. In the stations Fredensborg (Ningo) and Augustaborg (Thessing) supervisors are kept, and residences for these maintained.
- f. A station at Akropong in the Akuapem mountains is established and kept as a garrison.

8. A draft for a budget of the Danish-Guinean Establishment:

Cost of administration:

Governor, salary	2,500	
food and entertainment [<i>taffelpenge</i>]	700	3,200 Rdl.g.Ct.
1 st Council member		1,100 - - -
2 nd Council member		900 - - -
Assistant		500 - - -
Office clerk	up to	240 - - -
Interpreter	up to	240 - - -
Interpreter, assistant	up to	96 - - -

Doctor and medication:

Salary for the doctor	700 Rdl.g.Ct.	
Medication	150 - - -	850 - - -

CLOSING THE BOOKS

School and Church:

Annual subsistence for the mission	500 Rdl.g.Ct.
Allowance from the Mulatto treasury fund to the mission	200 - - -
For the maintenance of the church, annually	50 - - - <u>750 - - -</u>
	7,876 Rdl.g.Ct.

Defence force:

a. Salaries:

3 lieutenants	annually 360 Rdl.g.Ct. =	1,080 Rdl.g.Ct.
1 sergeant	(monthly \$4)	57 - - 30
8 non-commissioned officers (“ \$3) each year	43 - - -10 d.=	345 - - -30 d.
80 privates	(“ \$2) “ “ 28 - - -40 d.=	2,304 - - -
4 musicians	(“ \$1) “ “ 14 - - -20 d.=	57 - - - 30 d.

Additional salaries:

1 lieutenant at Fort Prinsensten, annually	200 Rdl.g.Ct.
1 non-commissioned officer same place, monthly 1 Rdl.g.Ct.40 d.	21 - - - 30 d.
15 privates same place, each, monthly	<u>40 d.</u> 153 - - - 30 d.
	4,220 Rdl.g.Ct.

[308]

1 non-commissioned officer at Kongensten, monthly	1 Rdl.g.Ct.10 d.	4 - - - 20 d.
2 privates same place, each, monthly	30 d.	14 - - - 20 d.
1 non-commissioned officer at Fredensborg , “	1 - - - - 10 d.	14 - - - 20 d.
2 privates same place, each, monthly	30 d.	14 - - - 20 d.
1 private Augustaborg, monthly	30 d.	7 - - - 10 d.
1 non-commissioned at station, monthly	1 - - - - -10 d.	14 - - - 20 d.
10 privates same [place], each, monthly	30 d.	72 - - - -
1 private as the garrison drum major, monthly	1 - - - - - <u>10 d.</u>	<u>14 - - - 20 d.</u>
		4,385 - - - 30 d.

b. Uniforms:

for daily uniform twice a year approx. 1600 <i>alen</i> linen cloth =	224 Rdl.g.Ct.
- shirt “ 1000 “ platilles =	140 - - -
- collars and cuffs	14 - - -
- red uniform once every second year, estimated annually expense with the half each year, approx. 100 <i>alen</i> red cloth	140 - - -
- for collars and cuffs, dark blue cloth	25 - - -
- platilles for lining	28 - - -
- 200 pairs of shoes	280 - - -
-100 caps and buttons	<u>200 - - -</u>
	1,051 - - -

c. Ammunition:

for the watch, salutes at Fort Prinsensten, for military exercise, etc	350 - - -
flag and other accessories for the batteries	<u>200 - - -</u>
	550 - - -

Construction sector:

Maintenance of Fort Christiansborg	500 Rdl.g.Ct.
“ civil residences	150 - - -
“ military stations	<u>200 - - -</u>
	- 850 - - -

Plantation Frederiksgave:

Salaries and maintenance	210 Rdl.g.Ct.
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Miscellaneous expenses:

Pensions for old servants in Guinea	350 Rdl.g.Ct.
New Year's custom for the garrison	50 - - -
HM the King's birthday custom	100 - - -
Instalment of cabuceer, mediators and clerks	200 - - -
Gifts for Negroes and villages	500 - - -
Clearings for couriers, remidors, etc.	<u>300 - - -</u> 1,500 - - -
	1,500 Rdl.g.Ct.

[309]

Journeys on official business	500 - - -
Fort Prinsensten, miscellaneous expenses	200 - - -
Out- and home journeys of officials	500 - - -
Keeping of canoes	100
Extraordinary expenses in connection with construction of stations, etc. ²³⁴	<u>1,027 - - -</u> 20 d. 3,827 - - - 20d.

Sum [7876+4385-30+1051+550+850+210+3827-20=] 18,750 Rdl.g.Ct.²³⁵

I take the liberty of adding the following remarks to the above draft on a budget for the Danish-Guinean Establishment. A comparison (between this budget and the regular standard budget) will give a wrong conception of the present in regard to the proposed. Namely, while the standard regulation included the Guinean budget as the supposed distribution of expenses in Danish Guinea, yet, reckoning from my arrival in Guinea, a change soon occurred, [revealing] an actually different distribution of the items of expenditure, namely under “salaries and

²³⁴ Written with a pencil: ”Pensions to some of the free villeins.”

²³⁵ Written with a pencil: ”Normal regulation 16,875 Rdl.g.Ct. Difference 1,875 Rdl.g.Ct. = 3,000 Rbdr.

custom to Negroes and villages”, one [item], “salaries to the villeins”, was to a degree abandoned, to a degree reduced.

On the other hand, the expenses for the licensed soldiery increased as a result of the events at Quitta, necessitating a garrison to be kept there.

The present budget would exceed the regular standard budget by not more than approximately 1,600 *rixdaler*, if I, under “Miscellaneous expenses”, had not kept the fairly same amount, namely 1,027 Rdl. g. Ct. 20 *dam*. I thought it wise not to be too accurate in stating the savings of a similar amount in the draft budget. The Guinean situation is such that all expenses cannot be too precisely detailed. On the other hand, the Guinean budget should be calculated in such a way that the Board might grant certain amounts for arrangements appropriate to the situation in Guinea, without being forced always to exceed the fixed sum.

Those [items] in this budget draft listed as “salaries” for the Guinean civil servants, have been given an increase of approximately 1,600 *rixdaler* [310], more than what the present salary regulations would allow the Guinean official. I hope the Board will not find this increase in salaries unreasonable.

Finally, I recommend these collected proposals for changes in the Guinean management to the good graces of the distinguished Board, and I hope, together with the Danish civil servants in Guinea, that the resolution of the Board will very soon bring the Guinean affairs into a long-desired order.

Edw. Carstensen

19 October 1847

A report occasioned by the Danish Mission Society's observations on relations between the congregation of Fort Christiansborg's chapel and that of the mission in Ussu town. Carstensen's proposal for the merging of the two congregations, seeing that the fort and the mission cooperate for the spread of civilization.

G.J. 248/1847, filed under 62/1850.

Copenhagen, 19 October 1847

In a letter to me of 16th this month, the distinguished Board has asked for a statement in connection with the report of the mission society in response to the Board's letter to the mission of 29 May this year regarding the school and church system in Danish Guinea²³⁶.

The [Danish] Mission Society has in this case addressed themselves to the committee of the Basel Mission. I think the committee of the Basel Mission has looked at the case from an incorrect angle – and is thus led to ask for information on points that, seriously considered with regard to its applicability in the Guinean situation, for a greater part, have lost their meaning. The committee has considered the church and school system of the fort in view of a development and independence that apparently would hinder a merger, but rather expected a coordinated union of the church and school of the fort with the one of the mission.

This is not the situation. When the proposal, of 7 November last year, was written in Guinea, it was drawn up with the understanding of [311] a complete union of the church and school at the fort with that of the mission, in order to promote the cause of religion and civilization among the heathens, and to make certain they would have capable priests and advocates. One had constantly in mind the extent of the Guinean territory, the paganism and barbarianism of its inhabitants. The civil and military administration of Fort Christiansborg has already, given its resources, the almost impossible task of keeping peace and order in the country. It would like to see a petition where the church and school system would manifest itself to be as independent as possible, led by men whose mission is to work among heathens.

One has to take into consideration that in Danish Guinea, in and around the fort, there are no Christians. Only the Mulattos are christened and as such create a congregation under the fort. Their children are baptized and taught within the fort. One has to look at the Guinean establishments as institutions for teaching of culture and civilization among the Negroes. The civil servants of the fort have the civil task of keeping peace and the business of peace and its fruits in the country. The missionaries care for the spiritual mission among the

²³⁶ The abovementioned reports are filed under G.J. 62/1850.

heathens; both the civilian and the spiritual missions work towards the same goal.

Re 1. I have no intension of employing a missionary as priest at Christiansborg. I am also of the opinion that the present church in the fort, in case the mission takes over the church and school system, can no longer be used. Partly because the church will not have room for the congregation of the mission (and the former congregation of the fort in addition to the mission's, would then make one united congregation), partly, because the order of the fort does not allow free access to the church.

We have in mind that there is no intention of replacing the present catechist and schoolteacher with a missionary. What we hope to achieve is that the duties of the catechist with regard to the present, small congregation in the fort, are taken over by the mission in Ussu town. The congregation of the fort will be *merged* with the congregation the mission has established in Ussu town. Concerning the *regularity of the services, the establishment of schools, etc.*, these are points that must be considered the conscientious obligations of their vocation. They have founded and developed a congregation in Ussu town, where they are obliged to teach and preach. That the congregation increases with the addition of the civil servants of the fort [312] and the garrison, and those belonging to the church of the mission in Ussu town, would increase the responsibility of the missionary, his duties will be more or less the same.

Re 2. I must here repeat what I have said above regarding the transfer of the church and school system to the missionaries. A missionary shall not be appointed temporarily to the tasks of the catechist; on the contrary, the mission shall take over the church and school system of the fort. The mission in Guinea absorbs the congregation of the fort; by that the mission achieves a desirable status for their station in Ussu, while in the church of the mission it will see a united congregation made up of the congregations of the fort and the town that were formerly separated because of differences in languages, by belonging to two churches.

In every respect the Guinean mission will remain in the same position to the Danish-Guinean Establishment, since the congregation of the fort combines with that of the mission, no new regulations or duties between the Establishment and the mission will be required. Another

matter is that this union be prepared on condition [by that] the mission receives support because of its increased burden. It is only under that condition that the new regulations and duties will be considered. The control, which the governor and the Establishment as superior authority has performed and is performing over the tasks of the mission, remains unchanged.

Re 3. As a matter of course following the abovementioned reflections: if the mission should have cause to leave the station at Ussu, it should, in good time, with regard to the incurred responsibilities to the fort's former congregation, inform the fort of their intentions so that the necessary measures could be taken in the interests of the congregation. I have always envisioned, and still envision, that the mission station in Ussu will develop into the most important and most productive station of the mission. It already has a position which deserves attention, and which gave rise to the idea of a union between it, and its branches, with the combined school and church system of the fort.

The remark under point 4 must be dropped, since it assumes that "the office of priest at Christiansborg" could require considerable contributions from the mission. The mission is not going to employ anyone in "the office of priest" on behalf of the fort. It agrees, against this termination, to maintain the church and the school in Ussu town. To the congregation, which is a union of that from the fort with that of the mission, [313] the government offers a grant to the church and school of the mission in Ussu town, which must be regarded as sufficient.

Re 5. Here I refer to what was stated about the church in Fort Christiansborg under point [1] and to what I, in several places just above have remarked about the congregation of the fort and its union with the mission. Here, I must add, that I have been informed that the missionaries in Guinea, in accordance with my presentations to them, have decided to start constructing a suitable church in Ussu town. From the very highest sources I have promises of contributions to the completion of that church.

Re 6. Naturally, the missionaries could continue the activity they have initiated with the means and plans they are now using. The fact that the congregation of the fort unites with that of the mission, does not lead to change of any importance.

Re 7. This point loses much of its importance when it is recalled what has been stated here several times: that there is no intention of a particular missionary being appointed, temporarily or permanently, as priest in the fort.

The civil servants and the garrison of the fort will belong to the mission church. As priest in this church, the functioning missionary must retain the holy obligations of the church. That the missionary in that case acts with care, that he submits whatever is necessary to the governor and the Establishment, will be of importance. This is precisely because experience has shown that the civil servant, that the missionary in Guinea, by listening more to the voice of passion than to that of reason, have abused an influential position, one should be careful in unconditionally allowing them the use of weapons, be they spiritual or material.

It is to be hoped that the Danish-Guinean civil servants will not occasion any discussion on this point. If, against expectations, the representations of the missionary towards the governor, to the Establishment, should be fruitless, he can demand that the case be sent home to Denmark.

Fort Christiansborg represents the Danish-Guinean administration; the mission station in Ussu will soon be seen as the main station of the mission. For the fort, for the mission, one goal is to be reached, and this goal is so important, the road so rugged, so dangerous and difficult, that the hope to succeed is only poor, [314] if the fort and the mission do not agree, if they are not ready to reach out their hands to each other, with kindness and reconciliation.

One should not dwell on thoughts of conflict and struggle, of undignified living among the Europeans in Guinea. Nor should one establish mutual means of discipline, but leave it to the Europeans' awakening sense of honour, and much to Providence.

Hereby, I think I have answered the letter of the distinguished Board of 16th this month.

Edw. Carstensen

15 November 1847

Governor Carstensen's plan for the suppression of the slave trade and the spread of civilization in Africa.

An enclosed document deals with the possibility of colonization, and says that the Negro tribes should be civilized by the help of the Europeans, but afterwards, made independent of them. Furthermore, it states that in this field the Danish efforts will be eclipsed by those of the English.

The document containing the plan first gives a summary of Buxton's book on the slave trade, revealing how this traffic is still flourishing in spite of the interference of English cruisers, while the Negroes' apathy and dislike of innovations hinder the spread of civilization. Carstensen does not think that cruisers are the right means of solving the problem. He has devised another plan to achieve the goal. He wishes that the Europeans should organize an emigration of Negroes from Africa to America, and when they have been influenced by civilization, they should again return to Africa and help to spread civilization there. At the moment, there is a "voluntary" emigration from the Gold Coast to Sierra Leone, and slave traders in the interior sell Negroes to North East Africa and Asia.

Consequently, Carstensen advocates that up along the Coast stations should be established for the receptions of emigrants. There the Europeans should purchase the freedom of the slaves brought to the coast, and later the liberated slaves should repay their ransom. They would be transported to America as free men and women, and on their return to Africa, colonies like those in Liberia, should be established for them. If the natives are made to see the advantages of this project, the internal African slave trade will be subdued. In case Negroes go to places other than the said stations, it is to be punishable as instances of slave trade. [315]

The Negro emigrants should be given various guarantees, and the ships in which they cross the Atlantic, be subjected to strict requirements.

The coast of West Africa between 16° north and 16° south should be divided between the powers that do not permit slavery, and the Bight of Benin and the coast south of 16° south should be patrolled by European war ships.

The work of civilizing Africa should be left to the Negroes themselves, while the emigration of large numbers to the West Indies should be maintained. The creation of properly organized Negro municipalities in Africa should be supported. When they have been firmly established, the Europeans will

be able to abandon their expensive establishments. A permanent reciprocal activity should be kept up between Africa and the West Indies.

In Carstensen's opinion slavery cannot be forced out of Africa. If a plan like the one proposed by him cannot be realized, he believes that the idea of civilizing Africa might as well be given up.

Re G.J. 290/1847, filed under 658/1849.

Copenhagen, 15 November 1847

My intention when drafting the enclosed plan for the “suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa” is to indicate the importance which the Danish-Guinean possessions in time might achieve.

I am fully convinced that the African continent, where the Negroes are at home, cannot be colonized except by the Negroes. Since it is now in conflict with humane and liberal principles for the civilized nations to found colonies based on slave labour, we must give up the thought of developing in Guinea dependent Negro colonies, even if they could be brought about, in spite of the fact that we must keep Negroes to work *in their own country to our advantage*. That the Danish-Guinean possessions should be important for us commercially is less likely than it was earlier, for the tendency of the European states to subscribe to the principle of free trade, will, even more than now, open the Guinea coast for the trade of all nations.

In my opinion Guinea can only obtain some importance as a consequence of the “Negro emigration to the West Indies” and the “West Indian emigration to Africa”, being able to show civilized Negro communities analogous to the Negro republic of Liberia. In those districts trade [316] and an industry will develop, which will influence most favourably on imports from Europe and sales in the interior of Africa. But these Negro communities ought to be independent and self-supporting, they should be created under the auspices of the Europeans, but subsist by and of themselves.

Once the Europeans have founded such ordered, civilized Negro societies in Africa, whose institutions have the strength to withstand successfully the maladjusted barbarism of the interior, then they must leave such societies to their own resources, they must give up a

guardianship, which if carried on beyond the time of authority, will become a foreign tyranny.

Danish Guinea can join the organization of an eventual emigration and immigration, in Quitta and at the Volta River both will find an excellent terrain. But I must admit that the proximity of the Danish possessions to the English, the relationship between the Danish-West Indian colonies and the English, will mean that our measures, our aims, will be so closely connected to the English that they will remain unnoticed and unimportant, because the English, because of their great colonial enterprise, will be manifest according to a scale that would be difficult for us to employ. The question is whether we, in case of the introduction of the immigration system, will rightfully will be able to expend great sums for the philanthropic aim: to justify [the establishment of] independent, civilizing Negro communities in Africa. Such societies will, to a high degree, develop the commercial relationship between the West Indies and Africa. The English would realize this, and they would gain by it. Denmark only needs an insignificant number of emigrants and will send a correspondingly small number of emigrants to Africa. According to the plan, all the nations who have emancipated the Negroes, might seek emigrants at all the legally determined emigration stations. The Danish-West Indian Negroes, who want to emigrate to Africa, would join the English-West Indian emigration. What remains, then, is to safeguard the interests of the immigration in Africa, and that, I think, should not fall to the smaller European states but should be left to the more powerful states, which could act with more force and emphasis, and in the realization of the plan, would see the interests that the smaller European states would not be able to, to the same extent. [317]

If ideas like those developed by me, or related to them, be approved of, Denmark could, by handing over Danish Guinea to England, retain the advantage of the measures without carrying the burdens of them.

Edw. Carstensen

Copenhagen, 15 November 1847

About the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa

In the year 1842, when I went to Guinea, I had familiarized myself with the events that in commercial, political and philanthropical directions had attracted the attention of the European states. I knew the European ideas about the slave trade, about the introduction of civilization and culture in Africa, about prohibition against import of slaves to the West Indies, and the emancipation of slaves there. I decided to examine carefully, on the very spot, the questions, which, for too long, had been treated as principles, which as a moral consequence, had to be carried through in spite all the obstacles the local conditions might present.

What I intend to touch on *here* is the system which has been decided upon, and as far as circumstances would allow, had resulted in *Suppression of the Slave Trade and Introduction of Civilization in Africa*.

The man, who in our time has certainly worked most for Africa, is the Englishman Buxton²³⁷. Through him, public opinion in England, on the mainland, was awakened to the cause of African civilization. Through him, spiritual and pecuniary forces were set in motion, forces, which in England are ready to act when impulses are there.

Buxton wrote his work, "The African slave trade and its Remedy", in England without any local knowledge of Africa or of Guinea, the cradle of slave trade. He tells about the cruelties, the horror, produced by the slave trade, and which the insufficient means for the suppression of the same only increases. Then Buxton proceeds to indicate the means he finds suitable [318] to suppress the slave trade. Namely: 1) to prevent and counteract the slave trade, 2) to call develop and encourage legal trade, 3) to promote and teach agriculture, 4) to impart moral and religious teaching. Buxton's aim is the redemption of Africa by the development of its own resources; therefore, firstly, a great, concentrated squadron is to prevent the slave export, and unions should be entered into with the chiefs of the coast and the interior; secondly, trade stations should be established at important points, and trade ships sent out; thirdly, an agricultural company should be established, which should buy, in

²³⁷ Thomas Fowell Buxton, English philanthropist, "Africa's Friend" (1786-1845) published "The African Slave Trade and its Remedy", 1839.

Africa, suitable regions for growing tropical products; fourthly, the newly founded “charity associations” should be supported. Buxton then proceeds to the development of the abovementioned points. With rare strength he paints the importance of *doing something*, even if this something may have doubtful results. Buxton concludes with the following observation: “But should this or any other plan turn out to be futile, or should the government not feel justified to counteract (defy) the difficulties and expenses which it would involve, then I must indicate as my bitter conviction that it would be better, in the interests of mankind, if we gave up the fight; better if we let the planters of America take their fill of their victims, than to intervene in a way, which being insufficient to lessen the evil, increases the misery which goes with it; better to do nothing than year after year, with great expenses, to increase the unhappiness of Africa and aggravate its wounds. But I cannot anticipate such a result, I must hope for a better turn of the matter!”

Buxton wrote this seven years ago. His ideas attracted attention; they awakened the enthusiasm of philanthropists, the interest of governments. The West African squadron of cruisers was increased. The Niger Expedition²³⁸, so unfortunate in its effects, was started. The boardings by the English cruisers in West Africa²³⁹ caused debates on the rights of visitation, which ended in France being obliged [319] to keep a numerous squadron for the arrest of slave ships in the Gulf of Guinea. The United States of North America followed the example.

During these events Buxton died. By death he was spared the grief of seeing his endeavours fruitless.

That the cruisers in the West African waters could not prevent the slave trade is now a fact. The French and English warships, numbering close to fifty, could not do it. The Niger Expedition was to promote culture and civilization in Africa. The very sad outcome of this enterprise is well known. The plan to attempt to prevent the slave trade with force, and, at the same time, want to introduce culture and civilization,

²³⁸ The Niger Expedition of 1841 was undertaken with 3 ships and headed by the captains H.D.Trotter, Bird-Allen and William Allen. Of the 145 participants, 49 died from malaria, and the expedition achieved almost nothing (A.F.Mockler-Ferryman: *British Nigeria*, page 32-26.)

²³⁹ In accordance with the English-French treaties of 30 July 1831 and 22 March 1834.

had to fail, owing to the interests of the slave traders, to the egoistical conceptions of the Negroes, guided by barbarism and superstition. It can, indeed, now be seen as proven, that as long as slave labour is sought at high prices, as long as there are people and capital to support and carry on a trade whose advantages to such an extent outweigh the risks, that trade cannot possibly be prevented from the outside.

The entire stretch of the Gulf of Guinea, the diseases to which the crew of the cruisers are exposed, the sympathies of the Negroes *for* the slave trader, prevent the realization of the present ideas regarding the suppression of slave trade and the civilization of Africa, which the European nations will not be able to fight with the measures presently available for a purely philanthropic goal.

And what are now the consequences of the measures for obtaining this purely philanthropic goal. It was to avoid depriving Africa of its children. It was that Africans *in Africa* should receive the benefits of civilization and culture. Warships were equipped to prevent the expeditions of the slave ships. That was all, and it is *now* recognized that nothing more can be achieved.

Buxton describes in vivid colours the misery, the horrors and the torture to which the unhappy slaves are subjected, because the trade, being illegal, must be run with a cunning, which the smugglers practice when loading contraband goods in and out. He believed that an increase of the cruiser squadron could remedy this grievous practice.

Buxton cannot have conceived [320] the extent to which the slave trade is run in West Africa, for how could a coast, stretching 16° north and south of the equator, which has a length of approx. 800 miles (geogr.), be blocked so strictly that the many who try to elude the blockade, could be arrested. The number of cruisers was increased; both French and English warships have taken definite stations between 16° north and 16° south of the equator. Sacrificing great sums of money, with the loss of officers and crew, these ships stay at sea in all seasons. These measures are as complete as they possibly can be, in spite of the fact that they are carried out for a purely philanthropic purpose without anybody expecting any financial profit, and still they are insufficient. The finances of the European states will not permit the maintenance of an effective squadron blockade. This weakness is the strength of the slave trade.

The slave traders know what to expect. As the pursuit gains strength, their agility grows to elude the pursuers, but also in the same proportion are the horrors increased of the unfortunate Negro, the common object of the pursuit. The slave trader must evade the vigilance of the warships by the greatest possible speed in all its enterprises. The slave ships approach the coast, where a sharp lookout is kept and reported over long distances. With incredible speed a great number of slaves and the most necessary provisions are taken aboard. If a cruiser is seen, if the smoke of a steamer is distinguished, they try to take flight. If flight is impossible, they try to bring the cargo ashore again, even if the greatest part is lost in the breakers. The survivors do not fall into the hands of the cruiser and are able to try another embarkation! The slave ship that has passed the cruisers successfully soon experiences the lack of provisions and water cause terrible destructions to the live cargo. The journey to America becomes a series of horrors. The survivors reach the country of slavery, torpid of mind and body. They have lived through suffering, the impressions of which will never leave them.

And how does the blockade work *ashore*. Here numbers of slaves are assembled, and Africa will never be tired of the interior slave trade. In the hope of the arrival of the slave ships, the slaves are moved from place to place. Subsistence necessary to life is meted out as meagrely as possible. If the slave ships do not arrive, if the cruisers are too vigilant, the maintenance of [321] the great number of slaves is impossible. Many must die from disease and hunger, and the human being has so little value that the fetish superstition now easily brandishes its sacrificial knife!

To wish to awaken in the Negroes of Africa the need for the good things of civilization and culture is a beautiful *thought*, but cannot be brought *into practice* as long as the present plan is followed. Where the Negroes are effectively protected, *namely* in places where the Europeans have forts and trade stations and *might* be able to give the Negroes active help, in those places an advance to the better may slowly develop, but slow it must be. The influence of the Europeans does not go far and does not accomplish much against the apathy of the Negroes and their dislike of change. At only a few miles from the possessions of the Europeans, barbarian tribes who live in the interior, influence the coastal Negroes in such a way as to prevent, often annihilate the endeavours of the Europeans.

I have thought of a revised plan for the suppression of slave trade and for the introduction of civilization into Africa, a plan which in its execution will 1) consolidate the local interests in Africa, 2) influence favourably the West Indian and the American colonial conditions (which formerly gave rise to the slave trade), 3) will found a civilization in Africa, which will find its strength on the basis of this plan, and will not be created out of raw elements.

The European nations, namely those who have African possessions, ought to agree on organizing and introducing an extensive “*emigration system*” from Africa to America and the West Indies, and in connection with that, an *immigration to Africa* of West Indian Negroes.

Negro emigration from Sierra Leone has already been in practice for a long time, which has given rise to various interpretations; the most active opponents of the slave trade will hereby see slave trade in a new form. As long as the English could arrange for “volunteers” to emigrate from Sierra Leone, as long as there is no coercion, the case is absolutely without fault from a legal standpoint. But the dubious aspect of the matter is that, presumably, a great number of the Negroes emigrate because they are passive, for lack of self-determination. This is particularly the case for the Negroes who are brought to Sierra Leone by the cruisers, often from far away. It is a fact that many of these emigrate a short time after disembarkation. [322] Might it not then be assumed that these Negroes, after so many difficulties, deprived of family and friends, regard Sierra Leone and the West Indies equally as places of exile; that they give a dull, somewhat meaningless “yes!” to the question of whether they wish to emigrate, or be recruited, for the West Indies?

I must emphasize the conditions for emigration in Sierra Leone as bearing in them the seeds for the general system of emigration that I have decided to develop. The English *seize* the slave ships they meet. The slaves are brought to Sierra Leone, where they arrive only after a journey of several weeks from the Bight of Benin. They are set ashore as free men, but are subject to conditions, which take the meaning of freedom somewhat out of context. Why not decide *to purchase the slaves’ freedom* openly where they are sold for export, instead of circumventing the matter by letting the slave trader pay for them, shipping them out and then, after having inflicted on the Negro incredible suffering, luring the ship into the trap - instead of all this to declare frankly -

We could not stop the slave trade by force, [thus] we want to unite in order to circumvent it by using indirect means in reaching the goal: its suppression. We want to compete with the slave traders, where they want to *buy the slaves*, *we purchase their freedom*.

As noted above, I consider the present blockade system to be insufficient; it is cruel in its consequences and effects. It will remain so. It may also lose in strength when France, as the latest news suggests, might declare that the burdens imposed on it by the West African squadron are too heavy. Therefore, I think that the slave trade should be counteracted *at the place* where it thrives, where the slaves are assembled for export, *ashore*, and by means, which do not too a great degree require an upheaval of the local conditions, which do not contrast too much with the present interests of the people.

It is known that slave trade between the Negroes has been going on as far back in time as we have knowledge of Africa and its inhabitants. As long as there is a market for slaves, the father will sell his son, the older brother the younger, and as long as slaves are in demand, the place where the buyer would appear will be known. It must be remembered that the trade with slaves, which is practised on land, by caravans to North East Africa, to Asia, will only be increased when the southern outlet is stopped. Therefore the work is to be done *ashore*. [323] Agents should be sought, who, being of African origin will find a friendly climate and base in Africa. Let the heathen, barbarian African be replaced by Africans, who under the daily influence of civilization have comprehended its essentials, its advantages.

Instead of letting the slave traders arbitrarily continue on the present track, and leaving the Negroes in their power, for sale, stations should be established along the coast to receive emigrants. Their interests should be safeguarded by men whose duty it is to counteract the slave trade by paying for their freedom. The slaves, who formerly were a prey for the slave trader, are freed. They are released from slavery. As free men, and with guarantees issued to the free emigrant, they emigrate to the West Indies and America. The freedom which the Negro never had, or which he lost in war or as a consequence of the lawless conditions of the country, he will acquire it by paying back the expenses he has incurred, working as a free man among free men. Let the Negro be freed, instead of being led, in chains, from place to place, from market to market.

Let him be free, offer him the fruits of civilization and culture instead of leaving him in a country where the fate of the Negro, for coming centuries, will remain serfdom and misery, subject to the whims of bloodstained tyrants and the horrors of fetish superstition.

The purchase of the slaves and letting them emigrate as free is only the first link of the series of measures in my plan. The Africans will, in the West Indies and America, form crowds of good workers, who, in the sugar and coffee plantations, have learnt the advantages of a properly cultivated tropical soil. In the schools under the influence of the example of civilization, the barbarous, superstitious ideas that the Negroes brought with them from Africa would gradually become more moderate, and disappear. Thus they will acquire strengths which, well employed, could work for the advance of Africa, by their returning to Africa, bringing knowledge and ideas from which nothing short of Africa's independent progress can be expected.

I must consider it as decided that Africa cannot be colonized by Whites *wherever* the climate is propitious for the Negro. The Europeans can only cultivate the equatorial parts of Africa by using slave labour, [324] only by forcing the children of the country to work, to slave, for his (the European's) interests. This unnatural state cannot exist alongside the principles of freedom to which we subscribe to in Europe. We must, therefore, leave Central Africa to its own inhabitants, the Negroes, whose land they have inherited and still possess, areas that seem to have been reserved for them by Providence, where they alone can stand the climate, and where they will not have to share the fate of peoples whose country the mighty Europeans *would use*, and therefore *take into their possession*. But even more, we ought to direct our attention towards the possibility of improving the Negro land, to form it, in time, into a link in the chain of civilized states, which, through culture and civilization, through trade and industry, contribute mutually to the well-being of society.

In Africa itself it would be difficult to combine sufficient means - both spiritual and physical - to achieve a fruitful result. This must be done from the *outside*, with components that would intervene energetically in the domestic conditions of Africa, which have remained unchanged for centuries, where slave trade, a universal sluggishness and distaste for progress have become fixed in the character of the people.

As it has been done in Liberia, Negro colonies should be established in Africa by West Indian free Negroes, Negroes who know how industriousness affects the well-being of man, who treat this well-being from a higher point of view, not, like the African, as the satisfaction of materialist-physical needs.

The following practical indication of my plan will further explain my ideas.

I imagine England, France, Denmark, Holland and the United States agreeing on the establishment of a “general African emigration system”, based on 1) *voluntary emigrants*, 2) *enslaved Africans, their freedom purchased* by the Europeans or the Americans, and taken to the West Indies and America.

The emigration takes for granted: a) that the emigrants are taken to the countries where *slavery has been abolished*, that they, as free men, join free men; b) that in such an organization of the emigration from Africa *the emigrants are assured all the guarantees* for the transport of emigration from one country to the other that are given to the European emigrants.

The aim of the emigration is 1) *to destroy slave trade* by purchasing his freedom and, as a free man, being taken away from a slave country [325] to a free country; 2) by this means to force any country that needs slave labour, to give up slave trade, to emancipate the Negroes and at the same time *introduce the emigration of Negroes*; 3) to see the West Indies and America so well *supplied with workers* that a desire for, *a need for an emigration* to Africa arises among the black population.

Voluntary emigration. The free Negro on the coast of Guinea will hardly present himself as an emigrant as long as the slave trade and the slave export continue in his vicinity. The coastal Negro knows the suffering which the “slave sold to the Portuguese” will meet. He knows that the slave is brought to a ship, which during the crossing to Brazil, is pursued by two enemies: the armed cruisers and by the starvation and its consequences. He knows that slavery and hard work await him on the other side of the ocean. *The free Negro will not emigrate until the slave trade is replaced by emigration.* First the free Negro must be convinced that the slave, who was sold on the coast, perhaps by himself, becomes free by that sale, that he is taken on board a big and comfortable ship, provided with all necessities. Then time must show that many

thus *freed slaves* do return, not only as free men, but in possession of resources, spiritual and material, which will easily elevate them above their previous masters. In this way, and only in this way, will voluntary emigrants come forth from among the young coast Negroes, namely, such emigrants who, not forced by necessity, could leave their home, possibly accompanied by their family, in order to obtain, by a stay of a few years in the West Indies, a more esteemed position in the home country.

Still, the coast will immediately afford one class of emigrants that might be called voluntary, thus in the same way as the greater part of European emigrants are called. In Europe *want* forces the human being to emigrate, to leave his beloved country, to subject himself to the difficulties of the crossing and the adversities of a settler's life, a bitter necessity drives him to it. In Africa many Negroes come to the European forts begging for protection against violence and tyranny, against impending sacrificial death. From far away arrive miserable beings, fleeing because a mighty chief has died, and his surviving relatives were ready to honour the dead man by numerous sacrifices. Introduce a general emigration system, let it be declared in the places where the *power to do this* is present, [326] that whoever is suppressed, whoever is threatened with sacrificial death, he will find protection and freedom, at the place of emigration, and numerous emigrants will present themselves, and all would be saved from painful serfdom and death.

The freed African as emigrant. By receiving and buying the Negroes who are brought from everywhere to the slave market, and, at the time of purchase, declare them free, provided they emigrate, the result will be that the countless Africans who are, and remain, slaves, who will meet a sad future if they stay on in Africa, where, probably, their fate cannot be improved, that not only they are freed from falling into the hands of slave traders, but are led towards a future, which will make a pleasant contrast to what awaited them.

There should be no objection to our acting as guardians, that we declare the Negroes to be our wards, temporarily minors under our guardianship, that they will be deprived of the personal liberty, their right of self-determination. Here the practical side of the matter must be remembered, either we should take care of the Negroes and lead

them towards a better future, or we should leave them to their fate in Africa, persecuted by tyrants from within, by slave traders from outside. In the first case, we do indeed take over the self-determination of the Negroes, when we influence them for their own benefit; in the second case, we leave to others, and these are bloody tyrants or the scum of civilization, unrestricted control over the existence of the Negro.

The mistake committed at the abolishment of the slave trade and the introduction of emancipation, was that the principles of freedom, regarded subjectively, were too much followed and honoured. The *reasonable consequences* thereof have not been considered. The Negroes could not be exported from Africa as slaves, they were to enjoy liberty at home, and the slave trade continued uninterrupted as a secret trade. The noble maxims of Wilberforce²⁴⁰, accepted by most of the European nations, remained living proofs of the high humanity of a few civilized nations, but they were only alive on paper, they could not be brought into practice.

It is about time that the system for suppression of the slave trade now being followed, be replaced by measures by which a favourable result can be expected. The moment the legality of the “general emigration”[327] is admitted, founded in a moral necessity, the moment the European nations will see and acknowledge a more lofty goal, thus, when the emigration is declared to be in function, then the slave trade is close to destruction.

The nations that have emancipated the Negroes in the tropical colonies, will agree on the right means of receiving the greatest possible number of emigrants from Africa. They will seek the Negro and free him, where, formerly, he became the prey for the slave trader; where, onshore, he was kept in chains, a victim of ill treatment, hunger and thirst. The nations, however, which have not yet emancipated the Negro slaves, will try to provide the necessary slaves, will try by secret trade, but they will not achieve the goal that bold slave traders now easily reach by working on the sly. *At the slave markets they will meet opponents to whom they must yield.* Where, for example, the Brazilian will buy slaves, he meets the emigration agent who purchases and sends to a free country the Negroes, whom he, the Brazilian, wanted to buy

²⁴⁰ William Wilberforce, English philanthropist (1759-1833), advocate for the abolition of the slave trade.

as slaves and send to a *slave country*. The emigration agent will know how to destroy totally the interests of the slave agents inside the country and the sympathy the natives might have for them. The free, more influential natives will sell the slaves whom the domestic slave trade allows to circulate. As long as *we cannot prevent this sale, let us admit it, but let the contract of purchase be a certificate of freedom for those sold.*

The native will soon see the slave ship in the right context; he will prefer a safe traffic to an insecure one. Once the natives have been convinced, it will be easy to make the domestic slave trade less a hardship, by taking the Negro to the emigration station under such conditions that he is elevated to the status of an emigrant. The native will be able to comply with the conditions that have been determined for the emigration stations for raising the purchase price, for example, that the Negro slave is accompanied by wife or children, that brothers are not separated, and other similar decisions for the good of the Negroes, which must be taken, partly on the coast, partly with regard to the imminent emigration.

The general emigration presupposes that the nations that implement it, have emancipated their slaves completely, that the emigrants they carry to the colonies, being volunteers or purchased free, arrive in free countries, where, furthermore, the administration is developed sufficiently as to guarantee the emigrant his liberty, [328] that the conditions under which he is to pay back the sum of purchase be set reasonably and be easy to observe. On the other hand, it will be a matter of course that the nations, which have not emancipated their slaves, will remain subjected to the existing treaties against the slave trade.

Emigration will be organized in such a way as to exist with the most absolute guarantees for its being in harmony with the principles on which it is built. The stricter the supervision of the emigration, the more difficult it will be for the slave trade to exist along with it, the better the treatment of the emigrants, inland and during the crossing.

I imagine the emigration from Africa arranged in this way, that it should *be limited to certain places*, so that only from the legally recognized emigration stations can it be practised with the force of law; so that ships looking for emigrants in other places, will be treated like slave ships - they will be confiscated. On the coast there will soon arise

interests so attached to the emigration stations that such secret or open enterprises by which the emigration is sought to be circumvented, or slave trade attempted, will immediately be reported to the authorities at the emigration stations.

The West African coast from 16° north to 16° south of the equator is to be divided among the European or American non-slave keeping nations, so that these nations, at suitable intervals, can establish emigration stations, subjected to common regulations.

France will supervise the emigration on the coast from Senegal to Gambia on the Ivory Coast at Assini and Grand Bassam, from 12°-15° west longitude, at the Gabon River from 1° north to 1° south of the equator. England will supervise the coast of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast from Cape Coast to Accra and the Slave Coast from Quitta to Lagos. The Americans (the non-slave keeping states) supervise the Pepper Coast, Liberia, and Cape Palmas at the most important parts. Holland will supervise the Gold Coast from Axim-Elmina, Denmark the coast from Christiansborg to Quitta.

Remaining is the stretch of coast from Gambia to north of Sierra Leone, and the coast from Lagos to Cap Corisco, that is the Bight of Benin. [329] The Portuguese have laid claim to the first-mentioned coastline, the country inside the Bissao Archipelago²⁴¹. The coasts of the Bight of Benin are so unhealthy that emigration hardly can be established ashore. In both places, warships should then be stationed at suitable points, to enforce the rules in favour of emigration and against slave trade.

Something similar should be enforced on the coast from the equator to 16 degrees south. That must be under close surveillance by warships, and navigated by emigration ships, until the Portuguese acknowledge that it is in their interest to genuinely join the non-slave trading nations.

The points suitable of being called *emigration stations* are Senegal and Albreda in the Gambia River for France, Bathurst in the Gambia River, Freetown on Sierra Leone River for England, Liberia and Cape Palmas for the Americans, Axim and Elmina for Holland, Cape Coast and Accra for England, Christiansborg and Quitta for Denmark, Popo and Whydah for England, Gabon for France.

²⁴¹ Bissagor Islands, Ilhas Bijagoz, a group of approx. 30 islands outside Portuguese West Africa.

Off Casamanze, Rio Grande and Rio Nunez inside the Bissao Archipelago, warships should be stationed, and equally so off Lagos, the Brass River, Bonny and Calabar in the Bight of Benin.

Some warships should be stationed along the Portuguese possessions, especially outside such points where slave markets are held. *At all emigration stations and warship stations* emigrants are received, and all the emigrant ships should be issued the necessary papers *there*. A few smaller warships go from station to station to arrest suspicious ships. Arrested slave ships with slaves on board will be supplied from the nearest place of call with provisions, medical goods, etc. The excessive number of Negroes will be transhipped to another ship and, as fast as possible, they will be taken to the West Indian port, where they will be freed without other restrictions than those the local police might impose on them. At the emigration station the emigration ships are examined to check that they are of legal size, that they are supplied with provisions and medications according to regulations, that the sufficient capabilities and measures for order and cleanliness are present, that greater numbers of emigrants are not embarked than the capacity of the ships legally allows. [330] The papers of the ship should show the most verifiable guarantees for the nationality of the ship, its homeland and destination. The emigrant ships should be commanded and manned by men of spotless reputation. The owner and the charterer must have reliable authorization.

The aim of the emigration. When the emigration purifies the source from which the slave trade springs, when the enslaved Negro is exposed to the advantages of freedom and culture, when the emigration is sufficiently developed, a return of West Indian Negroes to Africa can be brought into effect, with the anticipated consequences. It is then established as a fact what previously was regarded as a beautiful theory, that civilization in Africa can be established and developed with the greatest effect when left to civilized Africans. Liberia, the colony of free Negroes, affords the example, but what Liberia, and, to a degree, Sierra Leone, means on the vast coast of West Africa, is next to nothing.

To civilize Africa by means of civilized Negroes ought to be the purpose of all the friends of Africa. A series of colonies should embrace the coast, and the emigration from the West Indies and America to those establishments should be supported in every way.

The Negro emigration from Africa should prepare for a numerous emigration from the West Indies to Africa. True, it is a well-known fact that the African emigrant feels so comfortable in the Antilles that he is unwilling to return to Africa, and the return to Africa of such Negroes can hardly be counted on. However, it is difficult to say how circumstances will affect them. What can be taken for granted is that a numerous emigration from Africa will influence the West Indian Negro population by increasing it, so that the need for emigration will arise among the native West Indian Negro, before the emigrated African feels the urge. What matters is that a numerous emigration to Africa will develop with the circumstances, and everything speaks *in favour* of the case²⁴². Missionaries, preferably Negroes or coloured people, brought up to missionary work, friends of the civilization of Africa, should work with persuasion and example, with support and preferential treatment. |331|

When well-organized Negro centres are founded in Africa, when they are sufficiently developed and stable, the emigrant will find protection *there* for life and possessions, independence from the influence of barbarian, tyrannical, native chiefs, rumour will then soon reach the West Indian Negro population. From the other side of the ocean, the Negro will experience that in Africa he can function independently and with enterprise, that *there* he will have ample opportunity to utilize the knowledge and the capacities the influence of the civilization has given to him. He will know that in Africa he can act unhampered by consideration of his skin colour, which will never disappear outside Africa. He will know that in Africa he is master in his own home that his capacities *there* will assure him with an esteemed position among his kinsmen. His interests will be those of the new community.

The immigration to Africa will thus be made to work hand in hand with the emigration from there, preferably, by choosing the places for immigration, for foundation of Negro communities that are established as emigration stations. What is thus achieved, by this concentration, is active protection, both of the emigration system as well as of the interest of the immigrants. By immigration from the French-American possessions, France will find that her Senegambian possessions, and the establishment in the Gabon River, develop unexpected resources. The

²⁴² Written with a pencil in the margin: "Oh ho!"

other nations that have West Indian and American colonies, will direct the stream of immigration to Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cape Palmas, Axim, Cape Coast, Accra, Quitta and the Volta River, Whydah, Fernando Po, etc. The Negro communities founded at those places will use a common language, English. Their interests will be mutual.

When the established Negro communities have attained the degree of development and importance that enables them, as small republics, to exist without help from outside, especially without the assistance of the Europeans, then the costly establishments of the Europeans for the protection of trade and the promotion of civilization in Africa, will be superfluous. Trade will be protected by the free Negro colonies. Their very existence will be trade and industry, and they will see the strength and the well-being of society in protecting these interests. The cause of civilization will then, and ever afterward, be looked after by the missionaries. In the West Indies, men of African origin [332] will prepare themselves to work in Africa for religion and the enlightenment of the Negroes.

It is important to provide well chosen emigration stations for the West Indian Negro population where they can settle, reproduce, and develop such political importance as would be most desirable in Africa, but which in the West Indies would unavoidably lead to conflicts with the population of European origin. That such emigration stations could be founded in Africa is without doubt. That, in case of political movements among the free Negroes in the West Indies, they will be able to take over the politically deported people with positive results for Africa, is more than likely.

The West Indian Negro emancipation will probably gradually develop such an unruly and stubborn spirit among the coloured population of West Indian origin, that it will only be kept under control and prevented from excesses, if independent activities are founded in a country where the interests of the Negroes are predominant, where the open development of higher ideas among the Negroes will not be regarded with anxiety and worry, but on the contrary be greeted as a reliable omen of emancipation from the serfdom of spirit that prevented the advance of Africa. In Africa asylums are prepared for the West Indian Negro population, and possible Negro revolts in the West Indies will furnish elements of a population, from which fortunate results will not fail to occur.

The West Indian islands, the French-English-Dutch possessions in Guiana, still demand, and perhaps now more than ever, numerous hands for the cultivation of tropical products. Let a general emigration be introduced, and the lack of workers will soon be remedied.

The competition will force the emancipated Negro *to work or to emigrate* to Africa, where he will have greater profit, a more independent existence from the work of his hands.

The goal is to bring the *West Indies and Africa into an active interaction*, to release the slave-bound African be freed from serfdom at home, to lead him to freedom and civilization in the West Indies. The West Indian Negro is to be encouraged to emigrate to Africa, where his interests will be taken care of and protected, [333] as long as they cannot subsist independently. Let the general emigration of freed Negroes and the West Indian Negro emancipation are to be brought into close contact. The former will be a consequence of the latter, and *the slave trade will be abolished, the civilization of Africa founded*.

I have now set forth the outline of the plan, the realization of which I am certain promises the true emancipation of the Negroes and the Negro country, liberation from spiritual and material restraint. This plan, which intervenes in the interests of greed with lenience, and at the same time serves the commercial-political considerations of the moment as a means to achieve a higher aim, must invite active acknowledgement.

The African conditions are such that effective action must be taken, without delay, to counteract the cruelty and other lamentable consequences of the slave trade. I have spent five years in Guinea, and it is my conviction, based on experience, that all coercive measures are useless, that a combined conciliatory system must be brought into effect.

I have now suggested such a system. I hope that if my ideas are not approved in full, they may, at least, present the opportunity of a discussion of the matter, so that a propitious result may emerge. I shall then have achieved my goal, that something be done in the situation, and that this something be effective.

I must conclude with the words of Buxton, should this or any other plan turn out to be futile, or should the Government not feel justified to brave the difficulties and expenses it would involve, then I must

indicate as my bitter conviction that it would be better, in the interest of mankind, if we gave up the fight, better if we let the planters of America take their fill of their victims, than to intervene in a way, which being insufficient to lessen the evil, increases the misery that goes with it, better do nothing than, year after year, with great expenses, to increase the misfortunes of Africa, and aggravate its wounds. But I cannot anticipate such a result. I must *hope* for a better turn of events.

Edw. Carstensen

[334] 17 November 1847

A letter accompanying Carstensen's plan for the suppression of the slave trade and the work of civilization in Africa, which Carstensen hopes will be adopted. He will do all he can for the realization of the plan, offering to go to Guinea and the West Indies to learn more about these countries.

G.J. 290/1847; filed under 658/1849.

Copenhagen, 17 November 1847

I take the liberty of sending to the distinguished Board the enclosed treatment of a matter, which bears on a topic that humanitarian interests have been concerned about for a long time, and which ought to attract the attention of the states that have the future of tropical colonies at heart.

The ideas proposed by me will probably, if treated publicly, be criticized severely by the party that sees the suppression of the slave trade in not leading the Negro *out of Africa*, but letting him *stay in Africa*, no matter his fate there. This party has settled for a principle from which it will not deviate, although in its consequences it is a poor choice. But I have reason to believe that a strong group is ready to adopt such suggestions by which the slave trade can be counteracted in a more conciliatory manner, using measures which, while intervening leniently in existing interests, also have the aim of founding a civilization in Africa, to be developed as a natural consequence of the measures taken.

I *must* hope that an African emigration and immigration system

gradually will win so many and such influential spokesmen that the realization of the system will be possible. But overturning an existing system, and establishment of a new one, are events that take time, especially in this case, where it is not a question of one single measure on the part of one state, but where the united European states should decide and take action.

Until Guinea gains a significance that determines its importance to Denmark, its official activities there must be highly limited. They will consist in keeping the *status quo*, which has been the situation and will be the situation as long as [335] a forceful, combined incentive is kept waiting. I do not desire to spend *more* years in a country where the strengths of spirit and body meet their inevitable end, without the conviction that it will create an essential benefit and do some good. But should the ideas proposed by me win the approval of the Board, I think a journey to Guinea and the West Indies, on several counts, would serve to illuminate many aspects of the plan, and I would be delighted to submit to orders to go on such a journey, with the hope of *still working for* an idea closely related to my stay in Africa, and which I wish will turn out favourably for me in the future.

Places on the Guinea Coast to visit and describe are essentially Sierra Leone and Liberia. The first one, to examine how and under what conditions the emigration takes place *now*, the other one to learn on what conditions Liberia is developing as an independent Negro community, as a free state for civilized Negroes. In the West Indies, especially in Jamaica, the positions of the emigrants should be examined with a constant view to their previous conditions.

I will not only regard a journey to Guinea - the West Indies as a mean of completing my experiences on Guinea, but as a long desired opportunity to make myself acquainted with the colonial conditions and the situation of the West Indies. The plans drafted by me aim at a development of those circumstances and conditions, which might prove to be beneficial to the development of the West Indies. The country I thus have spoken of without knowing it, is one I should *learn to know*. I should know, by personal experience, both Africa and the West Indies, which should work for and towards each other.

Edw. Carstensen

CLOSING THE BOOKS

30 November 1847

The villeins should have their wages in cash - but otherwise be freed as soon as possible.

G.J. 297/ 1847.

Copenhagen, 30 November 1847

The question regarding the wages of the villeins at Chief Fort Christiansborg, proposed in a letter from Guinea of 20 May this year²⁴³ [336], in my opinion will only be legally solved when the proposed wage-system of the Establishment - notably wages only in cash - would be approved. It must be remembered that the Establishment has often urgently requested the freeing of the villeins.

Until the two proposals are ready for decision, I am of the opinion that the decision of the Establishment, of 16 April, could be valid as compensation to the villeins. As long as we *keep* the villeins, we have to *pay* their wages as well, even though their usefulness is in no way related to the expenses they occasion.

Edw. Carstensen

1 December 1847

The present wage-system should be kept until a decision is made about a change.

G.J. 300/1847.

Copenhagen, 1 December 1847

In reference to the letter of the Guinean Establishment of 3 June this year²⁴⁴, regarding “wage payments”, I am of the opinion that the present practice noted in the letter should be kept until a decision is made whether the Guinean wage-system should be changed or not.

Edw. Carstensen

²⁴³ This letter is filed under G.J. 297/1847.

²⁴⁴ Likewise, filed under G.J. 300/1847.

1 December 1847

The so-called armoury outside Christiansborg is unsuitable as storehouse. Building materials from its demolition may be used for the new constructions at Frederiksberg.

G.J. 301/1847, filed under 595/1848.

Copenhagen, 1 December 1847

The letter of 20 May this year²⁴⁵, from the Guinean Establishment, on the decision regarding the so-called armoury [tøjhus], was already prepared during my stay in Guinea, after an inspection [337] showing that that building was in a dilapidated condition and that the expense of repairs would be considerable. The location of the building outside the fort, the humidity and the swampy air around it, make it unsuitable both as a warehouse and a dwelling. The armoury should be inside the fort. Dwellings when they are fitted out are mostly moved to an appropriate distance away from the fort, for example to Frederiksberg hill. The abovementioned armoury was formerly used as a stable, later for storage of military equipment. It is built of stone and clay, covered with straw roofing.

The stones are the only thing left of value from the building. That the stones could be used for the porch of the Frederiksberg house is in my opinion a suitable economic arrangement.

I have only this remark to add, that the negotiations in this case should state if the [rights to] the ground the armoury is built on, will be transferred to somebody to build on or not; if in the last instance, it will contribute to the extension of the site outside the fort or designated as belonging to the fort.

Edw. Carstensen

²⁴⁵ Likewise, filed under G.J. 595/1848.

CLOSING THE BOOKS

19 December 1847

*G. Lutterodt should not have been appointed temporary bookkeeper.
G.J. 317/1847; filed under 613/1848.*

Copenhagen, 19 December 1847

In reference to the letter of the Board of 18th this month regarding G. Lutterodt's temporary appointment as bookkeeper, I must remark that I had expected that the temporary governor in Guinea had tried to make use of the resources which the personnel of the fort offers, before again appointing a man in a temporary vacancy, who does not enjoy a good reputation. To be precise, I think Pastor Mühlensteht, Dr. Hansen, Lieutenants Svedstrup and Nielsen ought to be taken into consideration. However, I do not know the particular circumstances, under which the temporary governor, possibly, had no choice.

Edw. Carstensen

[338] 6 January 1848

In London it is reported that everything is now quiet in Guinea. Carstensen has informed the English merchants that, subject to certain guarantees, Denmark will allow free trade in the Guinean territories. Nevertheless, he is of the opinion that an official declaration to this effect will have to be postponed, until Copenhagen has had time for correspondence with the Establishment.

In England expenses for the cruisers that hunt the slave traders will be discussed, with the possibility of finding a new system. The matter should also be taken up in diplomatic channels, and Carstensen still hopes for the success of his plan.

G.J. 393/1848/ filed under 658/1849.

London, 6 January 1848

I hereby take the liberty of reporting to the distinguished Board the following information about Guinea and the question of the slave trade.

Messrs. Hutton and Sons have letters from the Gold Coast of *ultimo* October [saying], the brig *Ørnen* had then already sailed off to the West Indies. All was quiet, but no details were available on the conditions in and at Quitta during the stay of the brig. My talk with Hutton left with me a satisfactory impression of the state of affairs in Guinea at the time. I touched on the conduct of Captain Marman²⁴⁶ in Quitta, especially his opposition to the authority of the fort. Hutton thought, without making excuses for Marman, that the desired steadiness had not been employed in the Augna country, and added that he did not yet know the true facts of the matter.

The question about free trade in Danish Guinea was delivered to me by Messrs. Hutton. I remarked that the Danish government would most likely allow the subjects of all nations to trade in the Danish possessions, although against certain guarantees, adding that the local government [should render assurance] that the free trade would not be misused in political intrigues, to the benefit of the slave traders, etc.

²⁴⁶ John Marman, established in 1839, a palm- oil factory in Way, was accused of collaborating with the slave traders.

Since I may assume that my proposal for free trade in Danish Guinea will soon be most honourably approved, I take the liberty [339] of addressing the attention of the Board that notification of the mentioned free trade should be postponed until further correspondence with the Establishment in Guinea.

It has been quite a pleasure for me to come across the little pamphlet, which I hereby forward to the distinguished Board. Here the Board will experience that the emigration and the question of ransom are touched upon. The author of this text, William Stewart, will, in beginning of February, publish an account of his visit in Guinea in 1846, that is, at the same time as myself. This work will be launched during the days of the opening of the Parliament, i.e. 4 February.

The question regarding the expenses for the English cruiser squadron, about the slave trade and all that might be connected to that (from a colonial commercial point of view), will be presented to the House [of Parliament], as far as I know, by Lord George Bentinck²⁴⁷. A strong movement for saving the great amounts to keep up the *useless* support of all the many cruisers will emerge. In order to save the expense and to withdraw the greatest number of cruisers, a new system for suppressing the slave trade will be proposed. This system will consist of an extensive emigration. Perhaps it might extend to purchasing freedom for the slaves, where they otherwise would have been sold as slaves. I may take the liberty of drawing the attention of the distinguished Board to the Parliament's negotiations in this case. Furthermore, I think our envoy to the English court, as soon as possible, should become acquainted with the position of our government in this case. I think a short draft of my proposal should be communicated to the colonial ministers in Holland and France, and thus may possibly arrive *here* at a convenient point of time by various channels²⁴⁸.

I would not have mentioned my proposal as stated above, if I had not found *here* ideas related to mine already in existence. I must hope, for the benefit of Africa and the West Indies, that these ideas [340] will

²⁴⁷ Lord William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, English protectionist (1802-48).

²⁴⁸ Already on 28 December 1847, the General Customs Board and the Board of Trade had addressed themselves to the Foreign Office with a similar request, and on 15 January 1848 a letter was sent to the envoys about the case. England answered with a strong appeal of abolishing the Negro slave trade.

meet with success. I should expect that Denmark will take an active part in those ideas.

Since I cannot see myself able to prolong my stay here in London, I will not be able to watch the development of the abovementioned matter as I would have wanted to. I have not spoken with our ambassador, Count Reventlov²⁴⁹. My taking leave today prevents me from seeing him.

During the first days of March there will be a shipping opportunity for Guinea. The consul²⁵⁰ here will be able to make further report on this matter.

Edw. Carstensen

1848 undated

Governor Carstensen informs the Minister of Trade of the new Danish government that, in his opinion, the Guinean territories cannot be profitable for Denmark. He had promised the late King Christian VIII that he would open a correspondence with Mr. W. Winniett, English governor to the Gold Coast, on the cession of the territories to England. He has now received Winniett's reply, and the matter is progressing satisfactorily. G.J. 457/1848, filed under 310/1891.

His Excellency A. Bluhme, Minister of Trade, etc.

It will soon be one year since I left the Danish-Guinean possessions. On my arrival here, in the summer of 1847, I suggested to our late King and the Office of Commerce the need for a definite decision regarding Danish Guinea. During the five years I spent in Guinea, it was always on my mind to make Guinea profitable for Denmark. It is now, more than ever, my conviction that this thought cannot be implemented.

In August last year I had a conversation with King Christian VIII regarding Guinea, of which the result was that the King authorized me to start a *private* correspondence with the English governor in Guinea, which possibly would lead the English government into taking the

²⁴⁹ Fredrik Reventlov, Danish diplomat (1791-1851), from 1841, envoy in London.

²⁵⁰ F. Wilson, Danish consul general in London since 1830.

initiative in a matter which the Danish government, not long ago, had treated diplomatically in London, without any result. [341]

The enclosed letter from Governor Winniett²⁵¹, Cape Coast, will best inform Your Excellency on the progress my letter to Governor Winniett has had.

Eight days ago, I was in London for a few hours. I experienced, then, that the case is progressing favourably. Governor Winniett's letter has already set people in motion, who have commercial interests in Guinea to attend to, and who, in a union of Danish Guinea with English Guinea, saw the trading interests of England in West Africa secured.

I am of the opinion that this matter should be taken under consideration without delay, if it is the intention of the Ministry to dispose of Guinea.

Edw. Carstensen

28 October 1848

The prospects of a profitable disposal of the Guinean possessions now seem small. So the question of their simply being abolished should be considered. The forts should not be kept garrisoned as a matter of course, but the property rights should be maintained, until arrangements can be made for a cession on suitable terms.

Carstensen has written to two commercial houses in London, asking if they are willing to take over the forts against their maintenance. He proposes that even if the forts are to be abolished, the flag must be kept flying over them, and England and Holland should be notified that although the forts have been abandoned temporarily, Denmark still reserves the property rights. If necessary, the English should be threatened with the blowing up of the forts. In any case, the English will have to undertake the protection of the Negro tribes. So the only needful thing is an arrangement for pensions and the appointment of a superintendent to oversee those who are to hoist the flag. Even if the forts are abandoned, negotiations for their sale can certainly continue.

G.J. 579/1848, filed under 310/1891.

²⁵¹ The abovementioned letter is not to be found under G.J. 310/1891.

Copenhagen, 28 October 1848

As an attachment to my previous proposals concerning the Guinean possessions, I take the liberty of imparting to the distinguished Board the following remarks on the Danish-Guinean Establishment.

Edw. Carstensen

[342]

On the Danish-Guinean Establishment

At various times, I have forwarded to the distinguished Board proposals concerning the Danish-Guinean possessions, my intention being to further the interests of the mother country. In vain I have wished to see Guinea raised to, if not a profitable state, then at least to a level where it was not a continuous drain on the state. I must still expect those prospects as vanished; I believe in an imminent advantageous cession of Danish Guinea, of which I reported to the Board in the spring.

The present position of Denmark will, more than ever require such measures by which the expenses necessary for the administration of the Guinean possessions could be saved. If the cession of the possessions cannot be executed under relatively suitable conditions, the termination of the same may be a possibility. I shall therefore allow myself to further reflect on the latter alternative.

I think the government should not abolish the Establishment in Guinea in such a way as to irrevocably lose the property rights. To give the civil servants in Guinea the unconditional order to abandon the Establishment, would be to make the English a present of the abandoned places, or to leave them to the mercy of the natives.

A possible termination should perceivably proceed as the property rights of the Establishment's ground and buildings are reserved, without losing sight of the aim of the termination, namely to cancel the expense budget. I maintain that our property rights will thus be reserved, because I am convinced that by temporarily [abandoning], we will retain the terms for the transfer of the property rights, which we could not count on *now*.

I have written to two commercial houses in London to hear their

opinion on the Danish forts in Guinea, as well as factories, they could be transferred to English traders for their use, against a compensation, at least against the maintenance of the buildings as they are received. But no matter how the reservation of ownership is maintained, I suggest the following method of termination: the whole management is withdrawn, and the administration abolished; but the flag will be hoisted in those places where the ownership is not given up immediately. It will be announced to the English and Dutch governments (our neighbours in Guinea), that Denmark will *temporarily* abandon the Guinea Coast, [343] reserving the ownership of the places to where the flag is kept.

If we can succeed in the buildings being taken over by private [interests], the same maintenance will be observed. If they are not taken over, they will inevitably be exposed to deterioration and be left for the time necessary for a new decision to be finally made. But in both cases we would obtain the advantage that if no acceptable offer comes along, we could postpone the sale or the final termination for several years. Then we are not forced to sell at a bargain price or to give away the buildings, whose value in some few years, hopefully, will be evaluated at more than they are at the moment.

Our relationship to the Negro tribes should not influence the decisions that might be taken in this matter. The protection we have promised the tribes that carry the Danish flag, will, without the necessity of a special declaration from our side, and in accordance with the local conditions, be taken over by the English, and the Negroes have often enough shown preference for English protection, even as the English often enough have wanted to extend their protection to our territory. The Negroes on this side of the Volta River will take their palavers to Prampram and English Accra. Beyond the Volta, especially in Quitta, the fort, as the only masonry construction on a long stretch of the coast, will probably be taken over by an English merchant as a trading station, and thereby he can lay claim for protection of his nation (like English merchants in Whydah, Lagos, etc.)

Should England object to an abandonment of the Coast, by which we leave the Negroes without admitting another protective power to the forts, we might in my opinion, naturally reply that instead of blowing up the forts, we would choose to lock them up, until new trading conditions might show whether they are to be blown up or not.

For it would be better *to present* the English with ruins than with costly buildings, which they could have acquired with so little sacrifice, for their own benefit and that of the natives.

If the government has decided to withdraw from the Guinea Coast, and it be carried out as above, our retreat will only gain by not offering all at once, but on the contrary, by behaving as merchants towards merchants.

If a satisfactory answer does not arrive from the English merchants, [344] to whom I have written about this matter, I do not think that much is lost in that case. I expect that by an eventual termination we could surely count on a private takeover of the forts in Guinea; if we do not prefer (as for example with Christiansborg) a temporary handover for the use and benefit of the missionaries. That decision must be left to the Establishment in accordance with the imparted instructions.

If the abandonment is accepted as mentioned above, namely with the reservation for the property rights, the realization of the plan can be brought into effect without difficulty. Along with notification and instructions a transport vessel could be sent out to take home the civil servants, the archives and a few things of value, which could not be kept better in their present place. Simultaneously with the discharge of the soldiers and the auction of materials, the status of the pensioners will be determined. For the hoisting of the flag in the various forts, the necessary number is taken out and placed under the supervision of a “commissary”. The other pensioners, both villeins and military people, will be taken to the plantation Frederiksgave, their upkeep there replacing the former cash pension.

For some years, and any longer will probably not be necessary, we will be able to have native Danes in Guinea, who, for the pension allotted to them, will take over the responsibilities of a “commissary”, especially to supervise the conditions of the attendants of the forts, and the precise fulfilment of the contracts that had been drawn up for the use of the buildings of the Establishment, etc.

Thus when the termination has come into effect in accordance with the proposed plan (without too much regard to possible notes from a foreign power), then our aim, a long desired saving, will be attained quickly, and the question of the reserved cession of the property rights, could be handled peacefully and clearly, and possible claims might favour an eventual sale. It will not be necessary, if this plan is followed,

to await the result of the negotiations on the sale of the Establishment. They may continue, while we bring this termination into effect, by which we declare that we are not giving the Establishment away, but we are ready to negotiate on the final termination of the same.

Edw. Carstensen

[345] 20 November 1848

Response has come from the English commercial houses, and Carstensen now proposes that the Danish Guinean possessions should be handed over to one of them against maintenance of the forts.

G.J. 584/1848; filed under 310/1891.

Copenhagen, 20 November 1848

On the Danish-Guinean Establishment

On 28th last month, I put forward my comments with regard to the eventual termination of the Danish-Guinean Establishment. The procedure for the termination that I could recommend consisted of transferring the advantage and use of the Establishment buildings to merchants, against a certain achievement in a number of years. By this we could see to the transfer of the property rights being postponed for a time, and without the burden of the government for the keeping of the Establishment, while an eventual sale was being negotiated. My proposal to hand over the advantage and use of the Establishment buildings to English merchants depended on whether such a transfer was possible in England. On 27 October I wrote to the commercial houses of Hutton and Sons and Foster and Smith in London, telling them the essentials in the matter, and I have now received the two replies hereby attached²⁵².

Based on my proposal of 28 October and the abovementioned replies, I am of the opinion that an eventual termination of the Danish-Guinean Establishment could be effectuated in the following way. Our embassy

²⁵² Copies filed under G.J. 310/1891.

in London makes an offer to the commercial house of Hutton and Sons to take over the advantage and use of the buildings Christiansborg and Prinsensten, as well as (the ruins of) Fredensborg and Kongensten, against the maintenance of the abovementioned buildings in a workable condition, as they were at the time of the hand over. The buildings at Frederiksberg might be included in the same contract, as they might be seen as belonging to Christiansborg.

A better outcome for such a lease than the expenses for the maintenance cannot be expected, and more should not be requested. The purpose of such a handover should be pointed out, notably to keep the property rights [346] until a favourable opportunity should finally arise, and, in the meantime, to relieve the government of the expensive maintenance of the Establishment. It will therefore be obvious to the contracting party that we do not desire any profit for the Establishment, but only a wish to take precautions against its deterioration, until the case is finally closed.

The question regarding the hoisting of the Danish flag, I find could be restricted to Fort Christiansborg, where the flag, by being close to the English forts, will not suffer any molestation or infringement. On the other hand, the Quitta-fort should be regarded as a factory built of masonry, to which the disposal is temporary handed over.

At Christiansborg a European pensioner might take care of our interests and the careful fulfilment of the contracts.

As soon as the government may have decided to take steps to see that the proposed procedures of the termination should be initiated, I will take care of the information which in this case is necessary, to start the negotiations, and as soon as a favourable result is reached, it will be the right time to decide on the necessary instructions to the Guinean Establishment with respect to the fulfilment of the contract entered upon, and everything connected to it²⁵³.

Edw. Carstensen

²⁵³ Occasioned by this letter, the Foreign Secretary expressed on 39 December 1848, that, at the moment, one would not dare the suggestion of abandoning the Danish possessions on the coast of Guinea, but advised to await the result of the initiatives that were introduced towards the French, the Belgian and the North American governments. (G.J. 655/1849).

2 January 1849

By order [of the Danish government] Carstensen makes proposals for the procedure in case the Guinean possessions are to be handed over to the English merchants. He will write to the merchants and the English governor in Guinea, and go to the Coast to make arrangements for the cession. Some of the movables at the Coast are to be sent home, some sold by auction, and the pensioners are to be stationed at Frederiksgave plantation. The missionaries are to receive continued grants for their educational activities in Ussu. It will hardly be necessary to keep a civil servant in Guinea to maintain the property rights. The missionaries can be ordered to send the necessary reports.

If the Danish government decides to terminate the forts completely, [347]such precautions will not be necessary. The civil servants should be given compensation for the loss of their posts, and a ship should be sent to bring them, their personal belongings, the archives, etc., back to Denmark. G.J. 657/1849, filed under 310/1891.

Copenhagen, 2 January 1849

According to a letter of 23 December last year from the Board of the Colonial Office, regarding the Danish-Guinean Establishment, I will, before dealing with the matter in question, take the liberty of making the following remarks first. I believe I can present the matter under consideration with the greatest accuracy by examining the result and the procedures as they, in my view, will occur. I will, therefore, first mention the matter as it applies *here*, and then take it into consideration as it applies in Guinea.

Before my departure, and as soon as possible, I am of the opinion that Messrs. Hutton & Sons and Foster & Sons in London should be addressed, as follows:

Messrs.!

While I thank you for the interest with which you, in your letter of 6 November last year, met my requests, which, in October, I took the liberty of submitting to you with regard to the Danish-Guinean Establishment, I am now pleased to be able to inform you of the present position of the matter. The Danish government has the intention of promoting the strictest economic measures with regard to the Establishment in

Guinea, and with this aim I will be ordered to Guinea, possibly as early as the end of January, in order, by my presence there, to make the arrangements by which the intentions of the government best could be realized. My choice of arrangements I decide to make will depend upon the local situation in Guinea, but possibly, the question regarding a temporary handover of the buildings of the Establishment for trading purposes will be considered.

I therefore take the liberty to ask you to make known to your agents in Guinea what is necessary in that connection, so that during my short stay on the Coast (Cape Coast and Accra) they could maintain the requirements of your trade.

Edw. Carstensen

At the same time a letter is being sent to the Establishment in Guinea, where, briefly, my forthcoming arrival in Guinea will be announced, and in which the Establishment is ordered to make a detailed inventory list, following the instructions in the letter.

Since my stay in Guinea would be as short as possible, because of the sailing schedules, any time-consuming correspondence in Guinea should be avoided. Therefore I think I therefore should call at Fort Cape Coast [348]. I would then be able to have the necessary conferences with the English governor with regard to the situation in the Danish-Guinean Establishment after the termination of the administration. I might then arrange for a desirable answer to the following letter to the English governor:

To His Excellency Governor N.N., Cape Coast.

The political changes and movements, from which Europe is suffering at present, have in the past year severely infringed upon the independence of the Danish state, and to withstand wilful superior powers, Denmark had to, and still may have to, bring to bear all her strength and resources. The greatest possible economy in all the fields of the administration might increase the country's means of defence.

As regards her Guinean Establishment, that is so expensive and unprofitable to the mother country, the Danish government has decided, for the time being, to close down the administration of the Establishment²⁵⁴. In order to put this plan into effect, the Danish government has sent me out with the necessary instructions. From Fort Christiansborg I will inform you how the usable grounds and buildings of the Establishment will be maintained, and, furthermore, how the property rights of Denmark may be reserved.

Your Excellency will ease the speedy undertaking of my mission by helping me to

²⁵⁴ A royal resolution of 3 April 1848 decided that the Danish-Guinean possessions should be tried handed over to England in the most advantageous way (G.J. 458/1848).

make arrangements for the situation of the natives and the merchants in the Danish Establishment after the withdrawal of the administration. The natives, being so close to the English establishments, are so accused to respecting the English authority, that a simple notification, saying that they in their struggles should be addressed to the English authority, will satisfy them. The English trading interests are to such an extent predominate in the Danish-Guinean establishments, that they might justifiably request English protection, as long as the hitherto protection is no longer present.

Denmark wishes to hand over her Guinean establishments to England. But until our respective governments agree on the conditions of the cession, or until other contingencies might arise, Denmark considers it necessary to arrange the matter as stated above.

Your Excellency, I would be most obliged to you for a declaration that, for the present, the legal trade and the legal actions of the natives can rely on English protection against possible violations until further notice.

Edw. Carstensen

At Cape Coast I will endeavour, as much as possible, to present the operation as preliminary to the final cession of the Establishment to England, which, hopefully, will succeed by the efforts of the English-Guinean authority and its residents in that direction. [349]

In the instruction given to me, my status in the Guinean Establishment will be determined. According to the Guinean instruction, the governor has the highest command only in military matters; in all other matters [Council] meetings of the Establishment are consulted. If, in this case, I am regarded as the royal commissioner of the partial realization of the Guinean possessions, I am of the opinion that I should be independent of all unnecessary, delaying, discussions. This is how I see my official mission: at the first meeting of the Establishment after my arrival, I will, as governor, be head of the Establishment, and by sorting out the matters regarding the present operations, I will present my instructions. Then as royal commissioner, I will be superior to the Establishment, in whose meetings, from then on, the members will have only an advisory role.

Concerning the arrangements that must be made with respect to the grounds and the buildings of the Establishment, it is of the outmost importance that I be constantly on guard against the Establishment *as a whole* being diminished by unsuitable divisions; that I see to the preservation of the Establishment as an object of an *undivided* cession;

and, possibly, to prepare for that on the spot myself. I would have to take the opportunity of disposing of some less important possessions of houses and ground, the cession of which will not reduce the Establishment as a whole.

The property rights of Denmark over the Establishment will be maintained, partly by handing over the use and advantage of the houses, and so forth, to private parties, partly officially, by notification to the foreign governments, to reserve the property rights of Denmark at such points, which due to circumstances, are distant, or so forth, cannot be maintained as a visible token of a prevailing property right. Extensive authority should be granted to me with regard to the buildings of the Establishment because everything here depends on what the actual circumstances on the Coast will be, and I acknowledge this as the most important part of my mission, to take advantage of the circumstances properly - to maintain them if they seem to be favourable – and, finally, subject the transactions to legal terms.

Thus, while the use of the buildings, etc. continues, a detailed classification of the inventory takes place, and decisions are made on which items should be sold at auctions [350] and which should be shipped home to Denmark. The items that are designated to be sent home are shipped without delay (for example ammunition, Congreve rockets, fittings, etc.) Items of special significance, which will receive low bids at auctions and could undoubtedly be sold more profitably in Denmark, are held back and will be shipped after the auction. With regard to the artillery of the forts, the iron cannons will remain, on the contrary all gun-metal cannons should be brought on board, if they are not sold for the value of the metal, or unless circumstances make exceptions necessary (i.e. with Prinsensten).

While everything is being arranged for the cession, for sale and shipment, I take care of what is necessary with respect to the non-European civil servants and the military dismissals. At their dismissal all the native servants and all the military will receive one month's salary in addition to the current month's salary. The military keep their used hats, uniforms and shoes.

The native pensioners receive as compensation for their pensions in cash, plots of land at Frederiksgave plantation, if they are able to maintain a living there. The pensioners that are absolutely decrepit, or have been mutilated in the service of the King, will keep their allotted pension.

Regarding the church and the school, everything is under the management of the missionaries, but I will here take the liberty of making the following remark: if we had not had the missionaries in Guinea, to whom the church and school could be entrusted, we could, in this situation, have met with the greatest difficulties in the termination of the Establishment. It would have been a severe measure to expel from school those children and young people, who were taught to partake, there, in the fruits of civilization and Christianity. On the contrary, the honour of our country would have demanded that we maintain the school, although we now were giving up everything else, and this includes the missionaries and the considerable expenses they incur. Since the missionaries have a station in Ussu town, we avoid the abovementioned difficulties, but it would be unjust that the mission suffers losses precisely because of this, and that the missionaries lose the protection they have enjoyed up to now. But they should not lose any more, notably their monetary support with which they have taken over the educational system of the fort. I will regard it as my duty, to have the Mission in Guinea indemnified for what they lose by the termination of the administration, [351] but, most important, I must ask that the promised annual support (of 700 Rdl. Guinean courant) still should be assigned to the mission. I think I can connect such conditions to the continuation of this allotment, by which, besides supporting a good cause, we could maintain our own immediate interests. I think I still can state the following conditions for the continued support of the mission in Guinea: that the church and the school are maintained properly in Ussu town near Fort Christiansborg; that the missionary in Ussu town reports what is necessary to the Colonial Office in Denmark. Thus we ensure the presence of an educated European at Fort Christiansborg, to whom we could probably assign the few interests we still are keeping at the Coast, notably the supervision of Fort Christiansborg (where some of the workshops, rooms and a cistern could be left to the mission for their use) and the payment of the few pensions that may be allotted to old and weak pensioners.

A question closely connected to the abovementioned is if a civil servant should be left in Guinea to maintain our interests there? In the event that Fort Prinsensten is transferred temporarily to an English merchant, that the situation with the other buildings of the

Establishment are sorted out, only a simple surveillance will be required, which perhaps is not of sufficient importance to demand the presence of a special civil servant there.

Since the movable inventory will be sold or shipped, only the amount of the auction will be left to cash in. On condition that circumstances are not counter to it, I am of the opinion that it will be more economical and reliable to pass the duties of reporting what is necessary about the Establishment to the mission in Ussu town, in accordance with the announced regulations at the termination of the administration. What is objectionable about leaving a civil servant in Guinea arises when one considers that the commission confided to him will be left unattended by his death or by his bodily or mental decay. The mission in Guinea will, on the contrary, see to it that a missionary will always continue the work for the mission in Ussu town. The Basel Mission still has an agent in London, through whom one could remit to the mission in Guinea not only the allowance for the mission, but also the pension, which the missionary in Ussu pays to all the pensioners. [352] Regarding the collection of outstanding claims from the auctions, suitable arrangements could likewise be made with the mission in Ussu.

I have so far treated the matter with regard to the fact that we have not decided on the *final termination* of the Establishment, but only a *temporary closure of the administration* to await further events, such as either a definite sale or an altered, favourable market situation. But probably the final termination will be accepted, and in that case I will take the liberty of making the following comments.

The “final termination” of the Establishment will not represent the difficulties that are connected to a “temporary withdrawal”. The latter will, of necessity, mean our relationship to the English government in Guinea has to be organized. We have to ensure the natives and the merchants adequate protection, replacing what we provided before, what we are now temporarily abandoning. We could ask that this be provided by the English authorities in Guinea, but the question is: should we expose ourselves to a refusal? And in case the English authorities would not enter an agreement, how should the relationship then be organized? The “temporary withdrawal” has the advantage of not cutting off the possibility of an advantageous termination of the total Establishment, but if this kind of termination is, possibly, *very distant*; a “final termination” should certainly be preferred.

Under the assumption that the “final termination” will be considered,

I will go through the points where the implementation of it will diverge from the “temporary withdrawal”, as it is presented above.

At a “final termination” one can be completely open, there will be no question of reservations and so forth, about which a *careful* correspondence will be led. The English government is notified as to the imminence of the “final termination”, and a civil servant is sent out to effectuate the withdrawal from the territory and the cession of the buildings; i.e. if that could take place, otherwise, the sale will be postponed.

Messer. Hutton & Sons and Foster & Smith in London are told that the English government has been notified, and that I, in Guinea, will try to sell the buildings and grounds of the Establishment. [353]

The letter of the Guinean Establishment could then anticipate the decision of the government and thus write to the Establishment to prepare measures, by which the stay of the sent out ship to the Coast will be shortened.

On my arrival on the Coast, I will inform the foreign governments by a copy of the notification to the English government, and make an appointment in Accra (close to Christiansborg), where the question of the disposal of the buildings will be treated, in a kind of a test-auction.

If the buildings and the grounds cannot be disposed of immediately, where higher bids are likely or the final decision depends on sanctions from absent partners, such dispositions are met that will not negatively affect the final decision.

In case of “final termination”, the question concerning the sale of the grounds and the buildings will certainly be decided within a short time after the termination, and perceivably by correspondence with the purchaser. I believe that the situation will be such that no civil servant, at any rate, will be left behind at the Coast.

My orders should indicate the lowest sale of the grounds and buildings that I can allow myself to accept. It will be difficult to suggest fixed sums for the various buildings, and it will not be easy to set a fixed sum as the minimum for the all the buildings as a whole. The final answer to this question must, however, depend on the negotiations that will proceed in advance of the final treatment and resolution.

With regard to the wages of the civil servants, it might be decided that all the wages from the date of departure to the arrival in Denmark

should be calculated in this way, that everybody should have half salary, in accordance with position and appointment.

Since the question of allowances to the Guinean civil servants will probably be agreed upon before their arrival in Denmark, I will here take the liberty of making the following remarks. I am of the opinion that after taking into consideration that the servants are called home and their offices terminated, one should take into account for length of time, and in which position, each one held office during his service in Guinea. After six years in Guinea, even until a few years ago, one received $\frac{2}{3}$ of the salary in compensation. In spite of [354] the differences in timing, I think that the same practice should be followed, even though the positions are terminated, and by following this calculation in accordance with the term of office, the following norm for the calculation of the compensation should be fixed:

Six years in office and upwards should give $\frac{2}{3}$ of the wage.

Four years in office and upwards should give half the wage.

Two years in office and upwards should give $\frac{1}{3}$ of the wage.

Under the present conditions $\frac{1}{3}$ of the wage as a minimum of compensation could still be fixed. In accordance with this calculation the compensation will be as follows:

1) <i>Governor Carstensen</i> arrived at the Coast on 4 May 1842; (assuming that the nature of my duties will supplement the absence, during the six-year stay, of a constant presence in Guinea) should be estimated to			$\frac{2}{3}$ of the wage
2) <i>Medical practitioner, Dr. Hansen</i>	Oct. 1844, i.e. 4 years	$\frac{1}{2}$	" "
3) <i>Lieutenant Svedstrup</i>	" 1844, i.e. 4 years	$\frac{1}{2}$	" "
4) <i>Catechist Mühlensteth</i>	" 1845, i.e. 3 years	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "
5) <i>2nd member R. Schmidt</i>	Dec. 1846, i.e. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "
6) <i>Lieutenant Nilsen</i>	" 1846, i.e. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ years	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "
7) " <i>Larsen</i>	" 1847, i.e. 2 years	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "
8) <i>Assistant Schneider</i> ²⁵⁵	" 1847, i.e. 2 years	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "
9) <i>3rd member Lauritzen</i>	1848, i.e. "	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "
10) <i>Assistant Schønning</i> ²⁵⁶	1848, i.e. "	$\frac{1}{3}$	" "

²⁵⁵ Isak Christian George Schneider, exam. jur. 1842, assistant in Guinea 1847, arrived at the Coast on 10 November the same year. Was suspended 2 March 1848, died 18 June 1850.

²⁵⁶ Gerhard Christian Schønning, cand. jur. (1821-50), assistant in Guinea 1848, arrived at Christiansborg on 16 September the same year, died during the journey from Guinea to the West Indies.

By this method of calculation, I consider that the civil servants will have a just salary in accordance with the time they have spent in the Guinean service. If, however, the stay in Guinea has broken down the health of a civil servant to such an degree that he is not able to find, himself, a better source of income, the compensation should be increased accordingly.

Finally, I take the liberty of addressing the question in connection with the charter of a ship to and from Guinea in case of the withdrawal of the Guinean administration, or the final termination of the Establishment. Since the departure will take place in the stormy season, and the ship will be at sea for almost six months without seeking port, I am of the opinion that the equipment should be subjected to the supervision of a sea officer. [355]

The freight contract should probably require: the organizing, in front of the cabin, of a mess of a size sufficient for the convenience of 10 passengers, with hammocks on the side and with proper ventilation and light. The cabin is divided so that one half will be for my use only. A capable cook is employed, and the galley should be arranged for cooking as well as baking to 10 passengers. The captain eats with the passengers and undertakes with one of the passengers, the purchase of the necessary provision. A steward is employed to attend to the economic details and to serve the passengers. The diets of the passengers are estimated to 1 Rbdl. per day (on the royal warships the overseas mess allotment is approximately 1 Rbdl. 40 sh. daily, as well as the salary for the cook and the steward in addition).

For several reasons I would regard it as highly desirable if the ship calls at Madeira or one of the other Cap Verde islands.

Finally, under the circumstance that for almost half a year I must regard the ship as my permanent dwelling, it is my wish that, as far as possible, I be consulted with regard to the fitting out the ship, and to its projected course.

Thus I believe I have sufficiently treated the matter under consideration, and I will now hope that the final decision of the same here will be sufficiently accelerated, so that I will arrive at the Guinea Coast before the onset of the most unhealthy season.

Edw. Carstensen

2 January 1849

The prohibition of the slave trade will be observed by the Europeans and their descendants on the Coast. The other natives cannot be regarded as subjects, they are only under European protection. The law applies to those who are subjects.

G.J. 658/1849.

Copenhagen, 2 January 1849

While I hereby address the announced enclosure in a letter to me dated 30 December 1848 from the Colonial Office, as well as a copy of the treaty from the English envoy²⁵⁷ concerning the same matter, I take the liberty of making the following remarks: [356]

As long as England considers her subjects on the Coast as civil servants and merchants of the Establishment, as well as their offspring, a prohibition against keeping slaves will be observed, notably by such English subjects who are descendants of English residents – although this does not, in fact, happen. So far Denmark could establish a similar prohibition on the Danish subjects in Guinea, if only civil servants, merchants and their descendants are considered as subjects.

All other natives could not be regarded as subjects, but as being under European protection by choice or as an offer.

This question of slavery in Guinea has this in common with many plans for the civilization of Africa, that it looks nice on paper; so many excellent decisions are taken that have stranded on the West African coasts.

But what England *really* is able to carry through in the Guinean establishments, we, her neighbours, should imitate, as for the rights of our fellow men. I am therefore of the opinion that the note from the English envoy might suitably be answered in this way: that Denmark will instruct the Establishment in Guinea, after conferring with the English government, to expand such regulations to the Danish Establishment, by which the moral education of the natives might be furthered.

Edw. Carstensens

²⁵⁷ The English envoy in Copenhagen presented in January 1848 a note recommending the Danish government to consider a prohibition against any kind of slavery (G.J. 396/1848).

10 January 1849

Valuation of the Danish forts and works in Guinea made with a view to their sale. Their value is estimated to 45,700 pjaster, but on account of the trade depression, it is thought necessary to reduce this sum to 31,900 pjaster, or about 60,000 rixdaler. The English do not need all the forts, but the Danish buildings are better than their own. The Dutch are asking a very high price for their possessions, but are finding it impossible to sell them. There is no possibility of any other nation but the English wanting to purchase the forts.

G.J. 663/1849, filed under 310/1891. [357]

Copenhagen, 10 January 1849

Since I may assume that Major General v. Quaade²⁵⁸ will not be in possession of the necessary material to give an approximate value of the Guinean forts Christiansborg and Prinsensten, I will take the liberty, based on local knowledge, of giving my judgement on the value of those forts, before trying to evaluate the other Guinean buildings.

Fort Christiansborg was founded by the Portuguese and consisted then of a square masonry redoubt without projecting bastions. Later the two western bastions have been built, the church, the upper residences, the two cisterns, the outwork, etc. The fort is built of rough sandstone and clay, the vaults and some corners are plastered with lime or clay-lime [*kleikalk*]. All the materials are found in the vicinity, except the iron, the pine beams and the boards. The sandstone is from a quarry close to the fort, the lime was burnt from oyster shells, fuel, coconut beams and boards, taken from the plantations.

If a fort were to be built nowadays where Fort Christiansborg is situated, and was intended to fill the same requirements, which are to represent a strong position on the Coast with the necessary warehouses and barracks as well as official residences, surely, one would have chosen the plan from which Fort Prinsensten was built by the Danes at the end of last century, notably a regular square with extended bastions, only on a larger scale than Prinsensten. According to this plan the official

²⁵⁸ Peter Friderich v. Quaade, fort engineer (1779-1850), head of the Engineers 1841, major general 1842.

residences (approximately a score of rooms) would have been placed on the *courtines*. Underneath the official residences are the barracks, under the four bastions the warehouses. Such a fort, built by sandstone and clay, plastered with lime, timber and boards partly of pine and partly of domestic wood could be built within two years. Since almost all materials can be found in the vicinity without being paid for, the building expenses would mostly be limited to hiring workers and management. 200 workers would cost approx.[358] 600 *pjaster* a month, helpers 2 *pjaster* a month, artisans more in accordance with the work. One can make the following rough calculation:

For workers for 2 years á \$600 a month	\$ 14,400
“ lime (fuel, oyster shells, etc.)	“ 4,000
“ iron, boards, paint, etc.	“ 2,600
“ unanticipated expenses	“ 2,000
“ management	“ 2,000
	\$ 25,000

Fort Christiansborg is neither bigger, stronger or a more convenient building than what is described above. But the fact that Christiansborg for a long period of years, without an original plan, has been enlarged and embellished, gives an impression of an impressive baroque building where one has gone to greater expenses on stairs and some of the residences, than if we had built a new fort. I will therefore estimate the value of Christiansborg, i.e. the building, to a lump sum of \$30,000 *pjaster*.

Inside the fort there are three cisterns, the construction of which might cost at least \$3,000, outside the fort a fourth cistern (the garden cistern), which can be estimated to \$1,000.

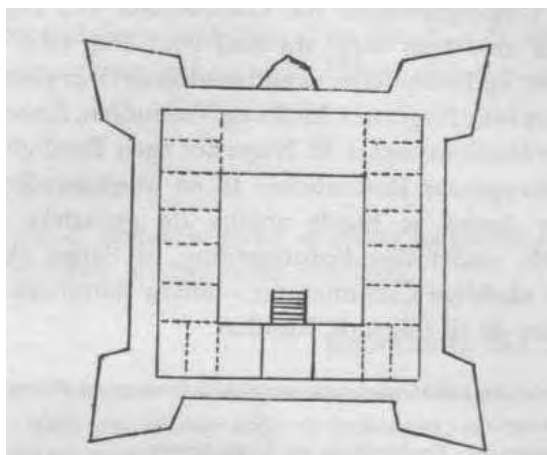
The redoubt Prøvesten at Christiansborg has value only in its connection with Fort Christiansborg. It is, in every respect, only a most poorly located watchtower, which in itself is nothing, but only has significance because of the proximity to the fort. I am therefore of the opinion that the tower Prøvesten should be considered as an added value to the chief fort. The construction of Prøvesten, of sandstone and clay, might have cost approx. 4,000 *pjaster*.

Fort Prinsensten is a regular square with four bastions, on the western and the eastern *courtines* there are seven rooms in a state of serious

CLOSING THE BOOKS

disrepair. When the repair of the fort was taking place, I estimated the “complete repair” to 5,000 Rdl. g. Ct.; but such a complete repair has not been done. During the reconstruction of the fallen bastions the weak places have been repaired and strengthened temporarily. Fort Prinsensten is built of the material that is found in and close to the site, from oyster shells and oyster lime. Some stone have been brought from Christiansborg [359]. The building of the fort has cost approximately \$10,000, but as decayed as it is now, it can hardly be estimated to \$5,000. All the bastions and *courtines* have fairly deep cracks, which have been hidden by clay-lime, the roofing [*platninger*] rests on rotten beams.

The ruins of the forts Kongensten (Adda), Fredensborg (Ningo) and Augustaborg (Thessing) have value only as building materials, and the location might increase the value somewhat. I am of the opinion that \$500 for each of the above mentioned ruins will be an acceptable sum.



The two official residences at Frederiksberg hill could be estimated to \$1,200 (one was built on contract for approximately \$ 600).

According to the above estimates, I arrive at the following sums:

Fort Christiansborg	\$ 30,000
4 cisterns	" 4,000
The tower Prøvesten	" 4,000
Fort Prinsensten	" 5,000
Ruins of Kongensten, Fredensborg and Augustaborg	" 1,500
2 official residences at Frederiksberg	" <u>1,200</u>
	\$ 45,700

By the above estimate, I have thus entered the sums that I consider would be reasonable, based on a survey and evaluation of the buildings, without considering how much the buildings previously might have cost, but with a constant regard to [360] their *actual* value at present. But I think the estimate of the *actual* sum is misleading. The *relative* value of the buildings will be taken into a future sale. That is, the effect that local conditions and market will have on the value of the buildings. The market situation might perhaps be more favourable than what it is at the moment, despite the experience of the last few years contradicting such a possibility. The forts of the Guinea Coast will more than ever become trading stations, as they were in 1660, when we received them from Sweden – the hope we nourished, of raising the forts to be the starting point of colonization by the Negroes themselves, is becoming weaker by the day. Because every day we are losing some of the control and influence, which it is necessary for us to have in order to achieve a favourable result over the Negroes in Africa and the West Indies. Emancipation leaves the civilization project to the Negroes own disposition; it postpones the efforts of the philanthropists to an uncertain future.

I am, thus, of the opinion that we ought to estimate the *relative* value of the Guinean buildings under the assumption that the sale would be executed during unfavourable market conditions – i.e. the minimum sale figures - and then I come up with the following result:

Fort Christiansborg with Prøvesten and the 3 cisterns inside the fort	\$27,000
Fort Prinsensten	" 3,000
Ruins of Kongensten, Fredensborg and Augustaborg	" 900
2 houses on Frederiksberg hill	" 800
1 cistern outside the fort	" <u>200</u>
	\$31,900

CLOSING THE BOOKS

While I thus expect 60,000 *rixdaler* as the lowest bid for the realization of the Guinean buildings, I will give my reasons that a sum, either similar to the actual value or higher, can hardly be expected.

England is in no need of our Guinean buildings; they have Prampram close to Fredensborg and Accra close to Christiansborg. But our buildings are better than the English, and for that reason a low bid might possibly be received.

Holland desires to get rid of her costly Guinean establishments; but by considering them as a total territory and then demanding millions to relinquish them, a sale becomes impossible. [361]

France has Senegal and Gabon, and as long as they are keeping the places Assine and Grand Bassam in between, occupied, they would hardly be thinking of still more *costly* establishments.

Any nation can settle, for almost nothing, and establish trading stations on most of the places of any importance at the Guinea Coast – and hardly anybody would desire establishments on the Gold Coast where the English influence and trade are predominant.

Thus we should not expect any competition for the sale of the Guinean buildings, but we must trust in an immediately favourable market situation in Guinea if the cession should be accomplished – if the final decision on a value of 60 to 90,000 Rbdlr. should not be preserved by an annual expense of almost 40,000 Rbdlr.

Edw. Carstensen

19 February 1849

*A description of the Danish forts and works on the Guinea Coast.
G.J. 676/1849, filed under 310/1891.*

Copenhagen, 19 February 1849

As I send out these short remarks about the establishments, I will take the liberty of noting that a plan of Fort Christiansborg can be found in the Ministry. If necessary I shall be able to deliver an approximate plan of Fort Prinsenssten.

The forts and buildings of the Danish-Guinean Establishment

1. Fort Christiansborg (Danish Accra)
2. The tower Prøvesten
3. The cistern in Ussu town
4. and 5. Two houses on Frederiksberg hill
6. A plantation house in the Akuapem mountains
7. Fort Augustaborg (Thessy)
8. Fort Fredensborg (Ningo)
9. Fort Kongensten (Adda)
10. Fort Prinsenstein (Quitta)

1. *Fort Christiansborg.* The chief fort of the Establishment is located approximately 2 English miles from the small Fort St. James in English Accra [362], protecting the town Ussu and its surroundings, open terrain everywhere. After Elmina and Cape Coast this fort is the largest on the Coast. From a fortification point of view, it is stronger than the fort at Cape Coast. It is build of rough sandstone in three storeys. The ground floor consists of guardrooms, barracks, warehouses, prisons, etc. On the second floor 21 rooms are used as official residences, offices, etc. in addition to a spacious church and a great palaver (court) hall on the same floor. A third floor is built against the seaside and gives the best governor's residence on the Coast.

In the fort yard there are two cisterns, which provide enough water for the needs of the station. Towards the town is the "outwork", a closed square under the two cannons of the bastions. Here there is a building containing different workshops, such as a black smith's, fitter's, copper's workshops. In the middle of the outwork is a large, round, open cistern.

Towards the sea and the town the fort has two strong bastions, and the other sides are provided with embrasures. In the outwork is a well-placed coast battery. The fort is armed with

- 3 long gun-metal 12-pounders on oak carriages
- 8 new iron 12-pounders on iron carriages
- 8 gun-metal 3-pounders on new iron carriages
- 2 gun-metal howitzers on wood carriages
- 12 different old iron cannons

Just east of the fort is the landing place for the canoes, and the landing is not more difficult here than at Accra and Cape Coast.

2. *The tower Prøvesten*. This small fort to the west of the town is a strong round tower (martello tower), made of sandstone; inside there is a storeroom and upstairs two rooms. It is equipped with 8 older iron cannons and commands the roads to the town from the west. Near the tower is the cemetery surrounded by a wall made of stone, with trees planted inside.

3. On the northern outskirts of the town is a cistern with a masonry wall and a surrounding system to collect the water.

4-5. On a hill, one English mile from Fort Christiansborg, are two houses, built in sandstone, as official residences, each with [363] 6 rooms, walled inner yards, gardens, etc., built within the past five years.

6. From Fort Christiansborg northwards to the nearby heights (the Akuapem mountains), a road, almost 12 English miles long, has been constructed to the foot of these hills. Here there is a coffee plantation, some Negro houses and a plantation house with 3 spacious rooms²⁵⁹.

7. *Fort Augustaborg*. At the town Thessy, about eight English miles from Christiansborg, there is a small, well-maintained fort, an oblong square with 4 bastions and two guard rooms, on the bastions some few dismantled iron cannons.

8. *Fort Fredensborg*. At the town Ningo, almost 30 English miles from Christiansborg, is located Fort Fredensborg, in a state of disrepair. On three sides the bastions are still in a good condition, the cistern and workshops in the outwork are still usable. Since a fort so close to Christiansborg is not necessary, these buildings could profitably be used by merchants. Of the dismantled cannons, some are very good.

9. *Fort Kongensten*. At the town Adda, close to the big Volta River, the fort there is like the one in Ningo, in considerable disrepair, although the warehouses and some rooms could still be used, and of the dismantled cannons, some are useable.

10. *Fort Prinsenstein*. This fort, on the other side of the Volta River, on the Slave Coast, at the town Quita, is the easternmost European fort on the Guinea Coast until Gabon below the equator. The location is of great importance against the slave trade, and many war ships come

²⁵⁹ [Presumably the royal plantation Frederiksgave at Sesemi].

here from the inner part of the Gulf of Guinea, for provisions.

The fort is on a stretch of land where there are no rocks, built of stone, oyster shells and oyster lime. It forms a regular square with 4 projecting bastions. All the storerooms and the living rooms (in total 7 on the *courtine*) as well as guardrooms, are in a good condition. During the last three years the fort has been carefully repaired and armed with 8 gun-metal 3-pounders with iron carriages²⁶⁰. Furthermore, some older iron artillery is found there. [364]

The following plots of land belong to the Danish government, bought from Negroes at different times, but used only temporarily.

- a. plantation at the town Dudua
- b. a ditto at the town Akropong in Akuapem
- c. a garden at Ningo town
- d. a garden and a plantation at Adda and on two islands in the Volta River

The natives acknowledge the rights and show the now overgrown and unused plots of land.

At Quitta town, two big gardens belonging to the fort can still be found. Furthermore, it should be noted, that the whole territory from Volta to the east of Quitta, was captured by the Danes at one time, after a conflict in the Augna country.

Edw. Carstensen

7 March 1849

John Marman's palm-oil factory at Way and Carstensen's attitude of reserve towards him.

J.G. 683/1849; filed under 142/1850.

Copenhagen, 7 March 1849

The Danish territory east of Volta River was actually abandoned until the activities of the slave traders there, in 1846, caused me to bring Fort Prinsensten up to military defensive standards. Although the regulations for the management of the Guinean establishments forbid strangers to trade on Danish territory, it was considered wisest to ignore the fact that

²⁶⁰ Correction with pencil: 8-pounders gun-metal cannons with new iron carriages.

strangers established temporary factories among those almost isolated Negro tribes, as long as the stranger did not belong to a slave-trading nation.

Thus, John Marman, in 1839, was allowed to establish a palm-oil factory in Way, when he, in 1845, addressed me verbally about the establishment of a factory in Quitta *under the management of a Negro*, I said that for the present, he could trade in Quitta just as in Way, if he could get along with the Negroes.[365]

Marman has no written permission to trade in the Augna country – I would not admit that to him - partly because of the terms of the regulations, partly because of the personality of John Marman. By allowing him to establish the factory *not authorized, but only tolerated*, the Establishment could, without any tedious explanations and correspondence with the English authorities to whom the plaintiff might have addressed himself, abolish those factories when there was good reason to believe - even if not proved by facts - that the factories supported the insubordination of the Negroes and favoured the intrigues of the slave traders.

Later events have shown that I was right only *to have tolerated* Marman in the Augna country; thus leaving the Establishment an easy way of removing Marman, when his affairs proved inimical to the Establishment and incompatible with the instructions against slave trade in and near Quitta.

Edw. Carstensen

20 May 1849

A proposal for a fee to be charged whenever a complaint is brought to the Establishment. In Carstensen's term of office debt-palavers [cases] were settled by the 2nd member of the Establishment [Council] for a fee, other cases by the governor himself, without payment of fees.

G.J. 758/1849

Copenhagen, 24 May 1849

In the year 1844, a decision was made by the Establishment in Guinea

for charging a fee of \$1 when debt-palavers were reported. The reason for this was that many insignificant and not sufficiently justified dept-palavers were reported at the Fort, where they were received without any payment for the expenses of seeking out the summoned. Then it became a rule that the plaintiff paid a fee and prepared the messenger, and thus, later, he was held indemnified of the expenses by the summoned. In order not to send too many soldiers around the country collecting debts, I tried to use permanent debt collectors, who, in uniforms, were sent out instead of soldiers. But it appeared that the decrepit, royal villeins enjoyed [366] so little respect among the Negroes in the country that I, again, had to use Mulatto soldiers for collecting the debts.

With regard to debt-palavers that were raised against debtors in Dutch and English territories, I used to give the plaintiff a letter to the respective commanders, who then received the fee and the send off-money from the plaintiff, and promoted the case. In the same way plaintiffs from the Dutch and English territories were sent to Christiansborg.

I regard the decisions of the court to be distributed thus: the governor judged in all cases that were not subject to a fee, and the *second civil servant after the governor* in the other cases (dept-palavers). Consequently, it was the warehouse keeper who functioned as judge; therefore this is *now* ascribed to the 1st member of the Establishment (the treasurer).

The main reason for a fee on debt-palavers was to prevent the constant run of complaints that were litigated because the process did not cost anything, after having vouched for goods or money to insolvent buyers, trusting on the free process of the fort. The fee should be used for clothing for the debt collectors, to pay the expenses for demonstrably poor plaintiffs. The surplus to be paid to the royal treasurer. This was the case until my home journey, and the collecting of debts proceeded in a quiet, well-organized way.

If the Establishment had maintained the authority and respect over the tribes of the country, over the soldiers' sense of duty, which, at my departure from Guinea, had just been established, the decisions in debt-palavers would hardly caused the civil servant or the soldier so much effort that a gratuity would be due them. The civil servant (the treasurer) must have time to undertake his few duties – which include

the decision of the debt cases - while the soldier, free of service at the garrison, retains his salary while lying around idly, waiting for a slow debtor in one village or the other up in the mountains, while he is being kept by the debtor and his family.

I am therefore of the opinion that as a rule, gratuities should only be given to those soldiers who with speed and discretion have brought a difficult and intricate case to a final decision, and even when this is the case, the victorious party should give the soldier the gratuity. [367]

As for the judge, I think one should not go any further than to offer him 10 *dam* in *document fee* for each registered debt case. In this way, often of necessity, a personal interest is maintained in taking the case, in accurate collection and payment of the fee.

Edw. Carstensen

24 May 1849

A charge for spirits should be levied, similar to those fixed by the Dutch and the English regulations.

G.J. 757/1849.

Copenhagen, 24 May 1849

With regard to the levy and the collecting of a fee on rum and spirits in Danish Guinea, I am of the opinion that there can be no objection to it, on condition that the English and the Dutch authorities in their territories approve and follow the same regulations.

Concerning the collection of such a fee, it could be undertaken with the same ease as some cargo fees (harbour custom) are collected in English Accra. The captain or the supercargo presents a declaration about the quantity of goods he has sold and pays the established percentage.

On the Gold Coast trading ships only anchor outside those places where a factory is found onshore; in the Danish possessions outside Ussu, Thessing, Ningo, Adda fishing hamlets, Way and Quitta. At all these places (except for Way) supervisors who could take declarations and fees, and by our giving the supervisors a certain percent of the

fee, they will carefully control all the canoes coming in with spirits, and thus check on the affairs of the supercargo. In this way they can also see if any ship anchors off places with no factories, and thus take necessary action. Since the reason for the fee is to tax the Negroes' inclination to drinking, I am of the opinion that the Establishment should be authorized to fix the fee and collect it, to join the English and the Dutch authorities' decisions in this respect.

Edw. Carstensen

[368] 12 June 1849

The Establishment has acted rashly in engaging permanent workers for repairs of the fort. It would have been better to employ them for piecework.

G.J. 788/1849, filed under 43/1850.

Copenhagen, 12 June 1849

After reading the enclosure sent to me with the report of the Colonial Office of 26 May, concerning "The situation of the workers" at the Guinean possessions, I am convinced that the difficulties the members of the Establishment might see in the new situation of the working relations should rather be sought within the administration itself rather than outside.

Since my departure from Guinea, the situation may not have changed [so much] that the administration should not be able to find the necessary number of workers *on contract* (i.e. to a *fixed payment* for the projected work) to make the repairs on the buildings. Precisely by this evaluation of the work, to have all the jobs estimated with a consideration to the approximate length of time required, and consequent expenses, precisely in this way can one expect to avoid the supporting of *permanent workers*, in whose interest it is to make themselves indispensable as long as possible, and who, in Guinea, idle the time away, as only Negro slaves can do when they are under a weak supervision. Certainly it is easier to have permanent workers to go from one repair to the other than to *negotiate* every particular repair. But the question is not about the convenience of one single member of

the Establishment, about the villeinage being suited to convene one or another expensive workshop. The individual reflection must yield to the regulations of the government, and to those belong the regulations of the writings of the Board of 7 March 1848. I may assume that the Establishment has not with appropriate eagerness sought to employ workers on contract, but has too quickly decided to employ workers on a permanent basis.

Edw. Carstensen

[369] 12 June 1849

The new residence of the civil servants at Frederiksberg was damaged during the rainy season. The damage ought to have been reported, and it is unfortunate to have the work officially supervised by the father of the building constructor.

G.J. 789/filed under 267/1852

Copenhagen, 12 June 1849

The new official residence at Frederiksberg was, as far as I know, built in accordance with the terminated contract. W. Lutterodt used the prescribed materials, whether it was lime, clay or earth, in the correct places according to the contract. On the other hand, what I am not able to judge is whether Lutterodt has used the mentioned materials, namely lime (and beams) with respect to quantity and quality, so that the building could be regarded as acceptable. That the building was so badly damaged during the first rainy season, does not speak well of the quality of material, notably, it seems that the roofing [*platninger*], upon which the fate of the whole building depends, has not sufficiently withstood the rain.

It is regrettable that the Establishment, instead of a series of fruitless inspections afterward, did not, upon taking over the building, immediately order reliable documentation on the condition of the building; [and] that *Georg Lutterodt* was one of the inspectors at an inspection of a house that the *son* had built at royal expense, I find unjustifiable. I expect W. Lutterodt has been relieved of any responsibility

with regard to that official residence. He has fulfilled the obligations of the contract, apparently, at least. If on the contrary there is reason to believe that the weaknesses of the building have been hidden by the fact that the only knowledgeable inspector on building constructions was the *father of the builder* (the other inspector was Doctor Hansen), then I think the responsibility must rest with the Establishment, which appointed the mentioned inspector.

Edw. Carstensen

[370] 3 July 1849

The pharmacy boy should be paid by the doctor.

G.J. 795/ filed under 1850.

Copenhagen, 3 July 1849

For cleaning the pharmacy of Fort Christiansborg, one or the other of the villeins is usually employed, who is then paid approximately 1 Rdl. g. Court. per month. This expense was not recorded in the budget for the Guinean Establishment, since I expected that the doctor himself had to organize the cleaning and order of the pharmacy with his own clerks, since the pharmacy is usually used more in the doctor's private practice than by patients from the fort. From his own private practice the doctor should be able to afford 1 Rbdl. g. Courant a month to pay his pharmacy boy.

Edw. Carstensen

5 June 1849

The Mulatto boy Ahnholm is not to be educated, but is only to be employed, until he is sent home [to Guinea].

G.J. 797/1849, filed under 300/1859.

Copenhagen, 5 July 1849

With regard to the requested information concerning the Mulatto

boy Ahnholm²⁶¹, I can remark that according to my knowledge the boy's parents sent their son with Madam Jørgensen under the definite condition that, after a few years, he would be sent back to Guinea. Therefore I cannot recommend the Mulatto boy Ahnholm be placed in any occupation that would prevent him his return to Guinea. On the contrary, I expect Senior Pyrotechnist Jørgensen should be able to place Ahnholm temporarily in some sort of factory work [371] until the Guinean situation, hopefully, will soon be settled finally, by which Ahnholm hardly will be the only one to be sent home.

Edw. Carstensen

13 December 1849

Governor Carstensen declares himself ready to depart. He wants to speak with the new English governor about the cession. Before the cession an auction should be held, and decisions made concerning the pensions. Adum and Sebah-Akim should be sent home.

G.J. 962/1849, filed under 310/1891.

Copenhagen, 13 December 1849

In regard to the letter of today from the Minister of Finance, concerning the Danish-Guinean Establishment's forthcoming termination and cession, while I declare myself ready to depart, as soon as the necessary instructions, etc., from the ministry are in my hands, I take the liberty of making the following remarks:

I believe the actual cession of the Danish-Guinean Establishment, based on the relinquishments, which has been sent to our envoy in London and on the final convention²⁶², will be much eased and hastened in this way, that, on my journey to Guinea, I can arrange the necessities in that respect with the newly-appointed English governor.

Before the cession, I plan to arrange an auction of things that shall

²⁶¹ The Mulatto boy Ahnholm stayed in Copenhagen under the supervision of school teacher Jørgensen, who in vain tried to place him in a factory apprenticeship.

²⁶² The cession treaty was finalized in London on 31 December 1849 and signed by Lord Palmerston and the Danish envoy F.D. Reventlow.

not be handed over, and which, necessarily, or reasonably, ought to be shipped home. I believe I can give more time with the payment and let the collector (a local, honest man) pay out certain claims, remaining in the royal treasury, pensions, payments due, etc.

With regard to pensions, I assume that G. Lutterodt should be keeping his allowance by giving a helping hand at certain transaction at or after the cession. On the other hand, all the native pensioners should be given a compensation for the pension once and for all. [372] Those with inheritance money kept in the royal treasury in Guinea, should be paid out, if possible in goods or in bills of exchange.

The soldiers will keep their uniforms and receive a reward upon discharge.

The missionaries in the Danish establishments should be secured if possible against the interference of the Wesleyan missionaries in their newly begun missionary work.

I think I have given the principal features of the arrangements that I intend to make in connection with the cession of the Establishment – provided I have the approval of the Minister of Finance.

Finally, I will draw the attention of the Minister of Finance to the following case, which is closely connected to the cession of our Guinean possessions. I am of the opinion that there is much that speaks for this event should be beneficial to the two sentenced Negroes Adum and Sebah Akim; that it could open for a return to their homes (under such restrictions the English governor possibly might put on their stay, on a longer or shorter distance from the fort). If the Minister of Finance finds the opportunity to request of H.M. the King a pardon for the abovementioned ex-chiefs who have been sentenced to life, I shall prepare the English governor in Guinea for the arrival of those individuals at Cape Coast within next year.

Edw. Carstensen

16 December 1849

Calculations of pensions for the civil servants, totalling approximately 4,000 Rd. annually.

G.J. 964/1849, filed under 312/ 1892.

Copenhagen, 16 December 1849

Since the question concerning the “Pension for the Guinean civil servants” probably will be decided before my return to Denmark, I will take the liberty of making the following comments in that respect:

I am of the opinion that next to taking into consideration that the civil servants are called home because of the termination of the service, [373] one should reflect on how satisfactory and properly, for how long a period, and in what position each one has served in his office; but even more, the service performed here by the civil servants should provide an element for increase when the pensions are to be decided.

Even a few years back, the Guinean civil servant received, after 6 years’ stay at the Coast, regardless of his performance there, $\frac{2}{3}$ of his salary. By keeping the calculation to only “the length of time in service”, this calculation could be made:

For 6 years of service in Guinea	$\frac{2}{3}$ of salary
“ 4 “ “ “ “	$\frac{1}{3}$ “
Under 4 years of service the pension varies	$\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of salary

By this manner of calculation, the following result would be:

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. <i>Governor Carstensen</i> , in Guinea from April 1842 to April 1847, reduced by an official journey to Denmark $\frac{1}{2}$ year, the remaining stay at the Coast will be 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ years; i.e. half salary with | 1,760 Rdl. – sh. |
| 2. <i>Member of the Establishment R. Schmidt</i> , in Guinea December 1846 to March 1850, makes a stay at the Coast to almost 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ years, comes to $\frac{1}{3}$ salary with | 586 “ 64 |
| 3. <i>Member of the Establishment Schønning</i> (on condition that he is informed of the commission), in Guinea for almost 2 years at the time of home-leave, comes to $\frac{1}{4}$ of the salary as 2nd member shared with | 320 64 |
| 4. <i>Assistant Schneider</i> , ca. 2 years on the Coast, somewhat less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the salary | 200 -- |
| 5. <i>Catechist Mühlensteth</i> , in Guinea for more than 3 years, somewhat more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the salary with | 400 -- |
| 6. <i>Lieutenant Svedstrup</i> , 4 years stay at the Coast, half salary with | 288 -- |
| 7. <i>Lieutenant Larsen</i> , ca. 2 years stay at the Coast, $\frac{1}{3}$ of salary with | 192 - |
| Sum | 3,746 64 sh. |

I have put Schneider²⁶³ lower because of relations in the service at the Coast. Since Catechist Mühlenstedt is supposed to be married, I felt with an increase in his pension, he would be able to achieve a priestly position sooner. The other civil servants are young, unmarried men, who will probably get a sufficient [374] allowance for completed service, when the above calculation is followed.

Finally, I submit for the consideration of the Minister of Finance, if not my long service in and for Guinea (from January 1842 to the summer 1850), during which so many years of my youth have been passed, [leaving me] still without a permanent senior position in the government, if the nature of this service should not make me deserving of an increase in the abovementioned pension - since my stay on the Coast alone [earned me] 1760 Rdl. – which should now entitle me to an allowance of 2,000 Rdl. annually. Hence the total pensions for the dismissed Guinean civil servants would amount to 4,000 Rdl. annually.

Edw. Carstensen

28 December 1849

Governor Carstensen's arrival in London. The ministers are celebrating Christmas [outside London], but the negotiations for the sale of the Danish Guinean possessions has come so far that on New Year's Day, the governor can leave for Guinea together with Governor Winniett.
G.J. 1/ 1850, filed under 310/1891.

London, 28 December 1849

Despite the fact that nothing can be announced *officially* regarding the final solution to the Guinean matters, I regard it, now, as most correct to inform the Ministry of Finance the position of the case, since my leave from here will probably prevent me from reporting what might happen the following days.

²⁶³ Chr. G. Schneider appeared soon to be a drunken fighter who did not attend to his work, but left behind considerable disorder in the accounts; in 1848 he was suspended and sent home (matters under G.J. 237/1851).

My arrival here at Christmas time has been an obstacle to a quick advancement of our case, since all the ministers are celebrating Christmas outside London, at various manors. However, since it seems they here are just as eager as we are (if not more so) to find a solution to this case, so it is now beyond all doubt that, on 1 January, I shall leave here with the brig *Contest*, Capt. Spencer (a brig of 12 cannons). Count Reventlow has not been informed *officially*, but by a private letter from Lord Grey²⁶⁴, and this morning I was visited by Sir William Winniett, who told me that the order for my passage together with him, had been sent to the Admiralty. [375]

Sir Will. Winniett is the same governor whom I left in Guinea in 1847. He is now going out for a wider field of operation. Together with the communication about my passage on board the brig *Contest*, Lord Palmerston's²⁶⁵ signature in the protocol will probably be reported to the envoys. The Ministry of Finance will see from this that the case has been promoted and that there will be no delays to the action plan announced me.

From Madeira I will be able to report to the Ministry of Finance further information on what advantage I have gained from being in company with Sir. Will. Winniett on board the brig *Contest*, in favour of a swift action plan in Guinea.

Now that I might foresee my arrival back here sometime during mid-summer, I will take the liberty, in that respect, of drawing the attention of the Ministry of Finance to the matter of whether my *requisition* to the consul would be sufficient as payment for the journey down here, or, if a note of credit should be awaiting me at my arrival. I am mentioning this now to avoid a longer stay in London during the summer than what might be quite necessary (in company with more [people]).

The very short time given me, does not allow me, in detail, [to inform] of the negotiations, which the envoys here have made known to me about the swift promotion of our case, but they are of a nature that I can confidently finalize the cession of the Guinean possessions.

Edw. Carstensen

²⁶⁴ Earl Henry Grey, English politician (1802-94), colonial minister 1846-52.

²⁶⁵ Henry John Temple Palmerston, Viscount (1784-1865), English Foreign Secretary 1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51.

1 February 1850

Even though all the formalities have not been observed, Carstensen received, from the Danish envoy in London, orders to cede the Danish forts in Guinea to the English. Winniett has been informed about Adum's and Sebah-Akim's return. The homeward journey of the Danish civil servants can hardly be made on English ships, as most of them do not sail direct to the home country, and do not carry freight.

G.J. 14/1850, filed under 125/1850.[376]

On board the brig *Contest*, 5 miles outside Sierra Leone,
1 February 1850

At my departure from Plymouth on board the brig *Contest*, I knew that the convention on the cession of the Danish-Guinean possessions to the English would be forwarded to me from London. When the mail-box was opened outside Plymouth, I found a copy of the convention and a letter from Count Reventlow concerning some expressions in the convention. As soon as I arrive at Christiansborg, I shall, in accordance with the convention, cede all the forts, etc., to the English governor, against the duly accounted for inventory lists. Since the sanction of the Parliament is beyond doubt, I expect to fulfil the cession in the presence of the natives, as if it was finally decided in Europe.

I am hereby able to report to the Ministry of Finance that the English governor is informed of the arrested Adum's and Sebah-Akim's dispatch to the Coast with passports for Cape Coast.

Since the English cruisers mostly sail from one African station to another or by way of Ascension, Sierra Leone to England, the homeward journey of the Danish-Guinean civil servants on an English warship might meet with difficulties even if time had allowed for that because luggage and freight are not carried by smaller warships.

I have written the above in the hope that an English ship bound for England might turn up and be able to take the letter along.

Edw. Carstensen

22 February 1850

After his arrival at Christiansborg, Governor Carstensen assumed control over the Establishment. The fort is to be handed over to Winniett on 2 March, after which the two governors will make a tour of the former Danish stations, and thus complete the cession. Finally, remaining Danish property will be put up for sale by auction. The Danish civil servants are seeking to make arrangements for their homeward journey by an English warship. Fort Prøvesten is to fly the Danish flag until the hour of departure. Accounts and documents are to be brought home. Bannerman will be appointed English commander of Fort Christiansborg.

G.J. 19/ 1850, filed under 319/1891. |377|

Chief Fort Christiansborg, 22 February 1850

By a ship passing by, bound for England, I find myself able to report to the Ministry of my arrival here at Fort Christiansborg, the day before yesterday, on 20th this month. I found the civil servants of the fort in tolerable health.

Yesterday I took over my affairs, and the preparations for the handover of the Establishment have started. Fort Christiansborg (and with it the protectorate over the natives in the Danish possessions) I shall hand over to Winniett on the forthcoming 2 March. On 7 March, Governor Winniett intends to go to Akuapem, Krobbo, Volta and Quitta. Fort Prinsensten will be handed over on 14 March. On the way back the forts Kongensten and Fredensborg and the other towns along the coastline, will be handed over. I shall accompany Governor Winniett on this tour to attend the handover. On 20 March, a public sale will be held of marketable items of the inventory and of the belongings of the civil servants.

I have written to the English Commodore Fenshawe²⁶⁶, chief commander of the West African squadron, about passage aboard an English warship bound for home, and I have reason to believe that Commodore Fenshawe will send the *Bonnetta* up here. I will not know anything definite about it until 14th next month in Quitta. Regarding the home journey for Messrs. Schmidt, Schønning and Larsen, as well

²⁶⁶ Probably Henry Fenshawe, b.1778, English naval officer, captain 1814.

as the home dispatch of luggage, that will depend on still uncertain shipping opportunities to Europe, as to when and how it can be executed.

I shall keep Fort Prøvesten, and the Danish flag will be hoisted there, until all negotiations are over, I hope before the end of March. On 15 March, the garrison will be discharged, except for the force that is in Quitta or sent out in palavers. All palavers will rest as from yesterday, until taken over by the English authorities.

The Marman case can be considered decided, as I expected, in favour of our civil servants.

All concluded accounts and other letters and documents regarding the last sign of life of the Establishment, will follow me to England on the first boat after 20 March. [378]

I have reason to believe that I can conclude my task with satisfactory economic results. I think that Governor Winniett and Mr. Bannerman, who will be appointed commander of Fort Christiansborg, will show me the courtesy I have expected of them.

Edw. Carstensen

G.C. Schøning

21 February – 17 April 1850

Governor Carstensen's journals and copies of letters on the cession of the Danish possessions in Guinea to the English.

The Establishment is dissolved, and Carstensen takes control as royal commissioner. Application to the English concerning the school and pensions. Salaries and travel money paid out, estates of deceased persons and debts wound up, the auction is held. Carstensen and Winniett, with Bannerman and G. Lutterodt make arrangements for the transfer, and orders are given concerning current palavers. In the meantime, Carstensen takes a trip to Cape Coast to participate in the drawing up of the cession treaty, which will be dated 31 March. For reasons of health he will not take part in the tour of the other Danish stations. After the transfer of Fort Christiansborg, he has taken up residence at Prøvesten, which will be handed over on 6 April. The archives will be left behind, until decisions have been made on their transportation to Copenhagen.

As his last impression of conditions on the Gold Coast, Governor

Carstensen states that the numbers of European officials and traders are decreasing rapidly. Natives are replacing them, and since there will no longer be any European social entertainment, life on the Coast will become dull for the Europeans.

G.J. 57/1850, filed under 311/1891.

*A journal on the negotiations
occasioned by the cession of the Danish-Guinean Establishment,
dated from 21 February to (March) 17 April 1850.*

A transcript, in the form of journals, of the “Negotiation Protocol” as it was carried on by me during my mission to the Guinea Coast. [379]

21 February 1850

1) Governor Carstensen, who on the 20th this month arrived at Fort Christiansborg, presented a royal document dated 17 December last year, according to which he was authorized, in addition to his position as governor, as superior royal commissioner, to make all the arrangements necessary for the cession of the possessions to the British Crown. Following this, a hand over of the cash balance and the inventory list of the Establishment were assigned to co-signatory Governor Carstensen, of which the delivery will take place on Friday 1 March this year. On the same day the account books of the Establishment would be ready to be handed over to Governor Carstensen.

The former government official, R. Schmidt, will be in charge of the necessary arrangements for realization or sending home the materials. Assistant Schøning will continue with the secretarial and bookkeeping functions.

From this date until further notice Governor Carstensen will receive full governor's salary and diet and entertainment allowances. Messrs. Schmidt and Schøning will from the same date, collect a monthly salary of 91 Rd. g. Ct. $33\frac{1}{3}$ *dam* each, until the final cession of the Establishment. Lieutenant Larsen will for his assistance to what might fall outside his military duties, draw 20 Rdl. g. Ct. monthly.

The Establishment is hereby dissolved.

Edu. Carstensen

R.E. Schmidt

Schønning

2) My decision on equal salary to Messrs. Schmidt and Schønning, until the final cession of the possessions, is based on the fact that they will be equally burdened with business in that short period when all the arrangements concerning the Establishment have to be sorted out.

22 February 1850

3) Notified the garrison that Fort Christiansborg is to be handed over to the English authorities during the first days of March (See enclosure 1); that the non-commissioned officers and privates will be discharged from the royal service on 15 March, except for the non-commissioned officers and privates who are out on command, [380] who will be discharged on the last day of March. Informed the bookkeeper to designate those soldiers who should be paid their arrears, which the bookkeeper would have to recommend.

Informed the Elders of Ussu, Labadei and Thessing the content of my mission, and the forthcoming cession of the chief fort to the English governor. Sent soldiers to Akuapem, Akim, to the coastal villages as far as Quitta, to inform, in preparation, of the content of my mission on the Coast.

4) According to an agreement with the English governor, Sir William Winniett at Cape Coast, Fort Christiansborg will be handed over on 2 March; consequently, an auction on inventory materials will be appointed to 1 March.

4 March 1850

5) Still weak and dizzy after eight days of fever, I see myself only able to have the auction appointed for tomorrow held in accordance with the inventory lists, without being able to attend the actual arrangements and the division of the inventories.

CLOSING THE BOOKS

5 March 1850

Auction held over the royal inventory materials, which brought

The belongings of Mr. R. Schmidt	\$934 30 d.
“ “ “ Mr. Schøning	“628 37 “
“ “ “ Mr. Larsen	“ 78 10 “
	“ <u>64 30</u> “
	\$1,705 47 d.

6 March 1850

6) Today, in the presence of civil servants, military and merchants under Chief Fort Christiansborg, of the Basel missionaries, of the Elders of Ussu and Labodei, the Danish flag was lowered and the English flag hoisted at Fort Christiansborg under royal salute. Then the Danish garrison marched out and the standards were brought to the redoubt Prøvesten, where the Danish flag will fly until the entire Establishment is handed over to the English authority, and the local Danish administrative arrangements are concluded. [381]

7 March 1850

7) Assistant Schøning was, because of my illness, ordered to accompany Governor Winniett to Thessing, Ningo, Adda and Quitta, to hand over those places to Governor Winniett, and to attend to our interests there with regard to inventory affairs, etc. Assistant Schøning's report²⁶⁷ and account are anticipated.

²⁶⁷ G. Schønning's report, dated Prøvesten 26 March 1850, is enclosed Carstensen's journal. It informs of his journey together with Governor Winniett in order to hand over the forts and dispose of the values there. The inhabitants beyond Volta were much against the English sovereignty and intended to oppose; but the slave trader Baëta in Atokko hesitantly decided to receive the English and thus informed that the Augna king would meet with them. Winniett offered English protection and promised not to interfere in the local affairs of the Augna, especially not their customs and religious practice. A more indefinite agreement was met regarding the slave trader Lawson who previously had come to Augna, but was alarmed by the Danish governors' interference. Schønning writes: "The English flag will in future be respected, more because of indulgence than of fear. Real fear will occur just once the English, presumably in a year's time or so, will convey to the Augnas a hard-felt defeat. The Danish flag will, however, still be in use by the Augnas, because they find it much nicer, and they are more accustomed of using it on all occasions that give a chance of doing so. The Augnas will also keep the Portuguese flag as before, because they prefer the slave trading Portuguese before any other nations." On the journey Winniett expressed from time to time his satisfaction with the nice and rich stretches of land he now came into possession of for the

On behalf of Mr. Schøning, I received from Lieutenant Larsen, the cash balance of the Establishment on \$5,077 (of which the amount \$853 20 *dam* was in *boss*). Mr. Schøning is liable for \$71.50 that was missing, in accordance with the account of the cash balance book. Since the profit of Mr. Schøning’s auction provides security for this sum, I have granted him the requested delay of the payment, since it is his intention to present an explanation to the Ministry of Finance on the matter.

11 March 1850

9) With regard to the considerable amount of cash remaining, the following measures will be taken: the *boss* will be used as [382] instalments for inheritance still due from the royal treasury, for salaries, for payment of pensions. All this up to *ultimo* March. The civil servants will receive their salaries and in addition, three months of half salary, paid in advance; finally, “home journey allowance” of \$250 to each, which has to be accounted for to the Ministry of Finance.

12 March 1850

10) Paid out instalments on estates from the royal treasury:

to Anna Magnussen	745 Rdl.g.Ct. 35 33/36 d.
to Sarah Wulff	200 “ “ “ -
paid out in total to Wilhelmine Lutterodt	142 “ “ “ 7 1/3 “
remaining instalments to Anna Magnussen	535 “ “ “ -
“ “ “ “ “ Sarah Wulff	183 “ “ “ 46 “

This sum of 718 Rdl. g. Ct. 46 d. will be paid out to the individuals concerned by Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt from the collected auction sums, according to a document that on this occasion will be arranged and properly signed.

11) Governor Winniett indicated in his speech to the assembly at the chief fort on the 6th this month, that all palavers should be forgotten,

English government. In addition the English would now much easier get a chance to fight the slave trade east of Volta River. Schønning maintains that for the last half year, both in English and Dutch Accra, but not in Danish Ussu, slaves have been sold for export, “and there is no sign that this will cease.”

and that the natives were expected to appreciate this forgiveness, etc. In this “amnesty” is a cancellation of the claims on palavers that were not decided by the Danish Establishment by the 6th. This applies in particular to the fines in the cases of Augna and Adda, which must be considered as non-collectable. That the English would begin their administration with an amnesty is all very well; that they extend it to the robbery of an English shipwreck near Adda is a great kindness that will hardly bring them gain [in the future].

12) The receipt of the enclosed application from the Basel missionaries, regarding the church and school inventories which the mission has borrowed from the Establishment, should as a matter of honour be granted to the mission’s school and church in Guinea. With the expectation of a resolution from the Ministry of Finance, the mentioned inventory (to which a calculation on the value will follow) will, until further notice, be kept in the custody of the mission. [383]

16 March 1850

13) All the books and papers belonging to the “archives”, having been packed in proper boxes and made ready for home shipment, are placed in the warehouse of Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt. Since, however, the archives of the Establishment only consist of transcripts of the accountant books, of duplicates of accountant extracts, of official letters, which are kept in originals or as transcripts in Copenhagen, of many various papers belonging to long-since dissolved and bankrupt estates, I regard it as most convenient to let the archive boxes remain in Mr. Lutterodt’s warehouse until the time the Ministry might decide if they should be shipped home or destroyed. I expect that the freight of the mentioned boxes, from the Coast to Copenhagen, will amount to approximately 200 Rbdlr.

14) In spite of the explicit terms of the convention, I have succeeded in executing the cession so that only inventory [in the category] belonging to “heavy guns” have been handed over, and a few unimportant items used in the office, the cistern and the building activities. “The herd of cattle” has been sold, and some “powder”, already in the ammunition chamber, will be sold at the forthcoming auction. Because of the high

freight rates to Denmark, I will take with me only the percussion rifles, a few good volumes from the library and a few other matters, which either ought to be brought home (such as, the flag, chasubles, etc.) or cannot be sold (bullet moulds, etc.). As there is very little competition in this place, most articles will bring a poor price at the auction. But only few articles are in a good state, and these “second hand articles” would hardly receive higher prices in Denmark, where the freight also must be taken into consideration.

23 March 1850

15) Addressed the English governor the following, on the “missionaries”:

“A few years ago, the Danish schools at Fort Christiansborg were handed over to the missionaries of the Basel Mission in Danish Accra, whose *English* schools were regarded as more competent in promoting the intellectual education of the school children than could the instruction in the Danish language. The Danish government granted the Basel missionaries the annual sum of \$600, for the increased number of pupils and for the clothing of the children. Since I know that Your Excellency intends to protect the mentioned missionaries for the benefit of the missionary institutions on [384] the Coast and in the mountains, I take the liberty of recommending that the Basel Mission’s English schools in Accra/Christiansborg grant annual financial support from the English government, in order to continue the education of those pupils who formerly belonged to the fort schools.”

- Fort Prøvesten, Accra, 22 March 1850

16) Addressed Governor Winniett the following, on the pensioners:

“The Danish government pays out to 18 pensioners, mostly military personnel, only few craftsmen, the annual sum of \$340, or monthly \$28. These pensioners, with the exception of a few too old and weak for any service, have been used as sergeants and supervisors at the various forts, stations and buildings, belonging to the Danish government, and as such, the abovementioned sum has been used beneficially. I take the liberty of asking your Excellency to help me with this arrangement to the benefit of the partners involved. If Your Excellency has to refer to a case of this nature for the approval of your government, I hope that Your Excellency will support my petition on the transfer of the pensioners to the English government.”-

-Fort Prøvesten, 23 March 1850

17) On Wednesday 16th, I received a letter from Assistant Schøning from

Ningo, that the English governor was awaiting me at Prampram if my health situation would allow me to accompany him to the mountains to hand over to him the Negro tribes there. I regarded it as my duty, in spite of my weakness, to proceed to Governor Winniett, and on the 17th, I was at Prampram. On the 18th, we were in the Shay mountains where the chiefs were presented to Governor Winniett; on, the 19th, from Shay over Krobbo to Aduma in Akuapem, an extremely distressing and wearing day trip; on the 20th, to Akropong and Abodée and on the 21st, to Frederiksgave plantation and to Christiansborg. Everywhere I informed about the cession of the possessions to the English authorities, upon which Governor Winniett most often addressed the audience and presented the chief with a gift. In Akropong the chief took his oath of allegiance to the English governor, and all the towns of Akuapem received Winniett with salutes when he passed through.

I have, in the accounts, recorded my expenses and diets occasioned by that journey. I have earlier tried to have the English governor to cover all the travel expenses of the Danish civil servants in connection with the cession matters, but Governor Winniett regarded this as beyond his power. I did not urge any further, since my own restraint in many aspects [385] of the cession, have been greater than I could have defended if the case had been presented in writing and the *text* of the convention had been followed.

18) Since it is the wish of Governor Winniett that I should accompany him to Cape Coast, in order to write and sign the cession treaty, I intend to go to Cape Coast on Monday.

19) On this occasion I have written to State Councillor Schmidt, as follows:

“Since I shall go to Cape Coast on Monday, I request that on my return with the brig *Th. Snook*, at the beginning of next month, you arrange and complete the packing and a list of the items that are to be shipped home on that ship. Also, would you make a note, for a final decision on my return, on matters that might have escaped my attention. On Saturday 30 March in the evening, could you notify Commander Bannerman in writing that the Danish flag, in accordance with orders from me, is to be taken down at Fort Prøvesten, and that, on Sunday morning, the fort will be able to receive the English flag.”

20) Written to Assistant Schøning, as follows:

“Since I expect to leave the Coast in the first days of April, I must request of you that the so called “mail-box” will be ready for dispatch at the same time, with those items of correspondence and the account books that you, as a matter of duty, have to ship home for the period before my arrival here.

Concerning session matters, you have to keep all the documents connected to that in your custody, in order to present a proper statement of accounts in Denmark. Such session matters that you still have not completed here, and which concern the Coast, you would have to arrange and deliver to Commander Bannerman.

The documents concerning the “Marman case”, you would have to bring to Denmark, and on the journey home, to make a concise and clear report of the whole case, to serve as a posting to the Foreign Office in accordance with the judgment of the Ministry of Finance.

I expect, on my return from Cape Coast at the latest, on 5 – 6 April, to find your report and accounts on your dispatches to the Lower forts.”

21) Informed all the civil servants that the final transfer of possessions to the English authorities, as well as the remaining administrative and completed affairs, can be concluded at the end of March.

As a consequence of this, Governor Carstensen will from 1 April only draw half his salary as governor. Money on food and entertainment will cease from that date. [386]

State Councillor Schmidt will from the same date draw half the salary of the second member of the Council; Assistant Schøning will from the same date have half the salary of the assistant.

22) Since Assistant Schøning, because of delays of several months in terminating the Establishment, would reasonably have received the commission as third member of the Council, I shall here, following the request of Mr. Schøning, recommend that he should be regarded as if he had been awarded the appointment, for which reason he may be offered the difference between the salary of the 3rd member of the Council and the salary of the assistant.

23) According to the salary book, the Messrs. civil servants were paid what was owed them up to 1 April, as well as their half salaries in advance until 1 July.

Furthermore, Messrs. Schmidt, Schøning and Larsen were paid for their home journey expenses, for which they will have to account to the

CLOSING THE BOOKS

Ministry of Finance, for every 250 *pjaster* (approximately £55 Sterling for each one).

25) According to the enclosed applications, I have granted Mr. Schmidt \$250 against a repayment of what might be his due from the proceeds of the auction. For the same conditions Lieutenant Larsen has been given \$50. By the unexpected cession and the swift departure from the Coast, the civil servants are deprived of the necessary time to organize their matters without financial support. Since this is only to be regarded as an advance, sufficiently guaranteed, I feel justified in doing this.

26) As a result of a conversation with Mr. Cruikshanks²⁶⁸, the agent of the House of Forster & Smith, all the boxes (except for the archive boxes mentioned above) will go to London as passenger luggage, free of freight expenses.

23-24 March 1850

27) Granted to the Basel missionaries, against a receipt in duplicate, the amount of \$2,126.40 *dam* at a rate of 4 sh. 6d. per *pjaster*. Hereby the royal treasury will be ensured the same amount for the abovementioned sum as it was purchased by the Establishment. [387]

I have recommended the abovementioned sum to the missionaries against a simple receipt, just as with previous loans.

28) Because of the inconvenience caused by Governor Winniett, I could not hand over to him the abovementioned letters about the missionaries and about the pensioners before yesterday. Governor Winniett informed me that he would give me the official answer at Cape Coast. His opinion on the Basel Mission was that they highly deserve the attention and protection of the English government, that he wanted to recommend their support, and that he would not allow other missionary organizations to perform in the stations of the Basel Mission.

About the pensioners, Governor Winniett stated that he would take

²⁶⁸ Brodie Cruikshank, English colonial civil servant, commander at Fort Anamabo, interim governor at the Gold Coast 1852.

over the pensioners that could be used as supervisors, etc., if Commander Bannerman regarded them as suitable. Today the pensioners were gathered at Fort Christiansborg, and I must admit that I fully agree with Commander Bannerman, that he could not have confidence or be responsible for the services of these men, and thus, could not accept them. Governor Winniett stated then that he would highly recommend to his government to take over the native Danish pensioners.

The native pensioners are as follows:

1. Jens Kjøge, senile dementia	approx. 70 years of age, pension	4 Rdl.g.Ct. monthly		
2. Henrik Malm, temporary mentally disturbed	" 46 " " "	4 " " "	"	"
3. Børgesen, decrepit	" 70 " " "	5 " " "	"	"
4. Briandt	" 50 " " "	3 " " "	"	"
5. Th. Praem (?), decrepit	" 60 " " "	2 " " "	"	"
6. Bischoff, decrepit	" 55 " " "	2 " " "	"	"
7. H. A. Malm, wounded in the foot	" 30 " " "	2 " " "	"	"
8. Engmann, blind	" 40 " " "	1 " " "	25 d.	"
9. D. Schmidt, drunken	" 40 " " "	1 " " "	25 d.	"
10. Locko, decrepit	" 50 " " "	1 " " "	"	"
11. Rømer, wounded	" 30 " " "	1 " " "	"	"
12. Meyer, decrepit	" 64 " " "	1 " " "	"	"
13. Nathel	" 50 " " "	1 " " "	"	"
14. Quist	" 30 " " "	1 " " "	"	"
15. Næser	" 30 " " "	1 " " "	"	"
16. Ajette	" 30 " " "	— " " "	25 d.	"
17. John Cleland (from the Mulatto treasury fund, blind)	" 54 " " "	- " " "	25 d.	"
18. Grimstrup, decrepit	" 54 " " "	2 " " "	20 "	"
Monthly sum		34 " " "	20 "	"

[388] Of all the pensioners I can only accept 4, namely Nathel, Quist, Næser and Ajette, for whom I can recommend a single, final payment of \$12 to \$16. Nathel and Ajette were villeins, temporarily disabled, but now able to work. Næser could probably be regarded as sufficiently rewarded for his services at Prinsenstein, having received pension payments and the abovementioned compensations. Quist is young and

able to work. All the other pensioners are not able to make a living. They are partly crippled, partly drunk in the service of the King. I would not think of sending some pensioners to the plantation Frederiksgave, even if I could run the plantation in terms of the text of the convention. All the lastmentioned pensioners have never had any *rossar* [planting] hoes in their hands and would hardly manage to use one *now*. Thus, it only remains for me to let the pensioners have their pensions until the case has been submitted to the Ministry of Finance. The pensioners Nathel, Quist, Næser and Ajetter, will still keep their pensions until further notice from the Ministry of Finance. Possibly, if the British government takes care of the pensions, they might avoid losing their pension, since they are included on the list given to Governor Winniett. I have transferred John Cleland, since he is old and blind, from the Mulatto treasury fund to the list of pensioners.

As a result of the abovementioned concerning the pensioners, I have written to Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt, the following:

“Until it is decided by the Danish and the British governments, what the future will be for the native pensioners, whom the Establishment is leaving as part of the cession of the Danish-Guinean Establishment to the English government, from 1 April this year, I would have to leave it to you, until further orders from the Ministry of Finance, to pay to the pensioners the lastmentioned sums: (the list of pensioners as above), i.e. 34 *cabes* 20 *dam* monthly. For these payments you have to keep accurate accounts and dispatch to the Ministry of Finance at the end of each quarter, a quarterly account, with testimonials for the living, signed by one of the missionaries. As a result of the conditions at the Coast, you should only pay the pensions to the pensioner himself, and not to anybody on his behalf.

Furthermore, you would have to credit yourself your monthly allowance, as well as pay Jens Kjøge for his support from *Dannebrogsmændenes* [(The Dannebrog Men’s)] fund, against receipts and proof, from the Mission, that he is still alive.

These expenses should be withdrawn from the forthcoming proceeds of the auctions of 5th and 23rd this month; then successively each month until further notice from the Ministry of Finance.

[389]

In the royal treasury there are still kept previously paid estate funds belonging to

Anna Magnussen
Sarah Wulff

535 Rdl.g.Ct – d.
183 “ “ “ 46 “

Likewise, these sums should be paid out to Anna Magnussen and Sarah Wulff against attested receipts.

Concerning the Mulatto treasury fund, I must ask for a consideration from the Ministry of Finance, and they will give you further notice on this.

Thus , your incomes and expenses will be the following:

Incomes:

Auction at 5 March

1. The royal treasury (attorney's and witness fees deducted)	\$852	50 d.
2. Chief Counsellor Schmith	"578	11 ½ "
3. Assistant Schøning	" 72	10 "
4. Lieutenant Larsen	\$59	30 d.

Auction at 23rd this month

5. The royal treasury	"496	- "
6. Chief Counsellor Schmidt	" 71	33 "
7. Assistant Schøning	" 16	34 "
<i>Pjaster</i>	2,147	46 ½ "

Expenses:

1. Pensions to local pensioners, maximum in case of none deceased	\$ 34 20 d.	
2. To Jens Kjøge from D.M.'s fund	" 2 30 1/6	
3. Your own pension	" 20 -	
= Monthly	" 57 1/6	
= Annually in Rdl.g.Ct	" 684 " 2 " = \$570	2 d.
	"599	6 "
4. To Anna Magnussen and Sarah Wulff Rdl.g.Ct.	718 " 46 " = \$599	6 "
<i>Pjaster</i>	1, 169	8 "

This sum on expenses will be yours for the abovementioned expenses of one year accordingly, as they are due for payment (pensions monthly, inheritance funds paid out in total). The excess you should, in the most convenient way (perhaps by a letter of credit from the missionaries), remit without delay, after the expiry of the three months credit after the last auction, to the royal Ministry of Finance the sum of \$978 40 ½ d.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Finance will inform you of what may be necessary as soon as a change in procedures regarding the pensions may be made.

According to your offer, the archive boxes, 9 in total, will be left in your ware house until the Ministry of Finance have decided whether the boxes should be shipped home or not".

Fort Prøvesten (Ussu), 24 March 1850

Edw.Carstensen |390|

30) Thereafter Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt received the receipts

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in duplicate. The original is enclosed, the duplicate will be sent home with Assistant Schøning.

25 March 1850

31) Assistant Schøning presented the “Palaver Protocol”, according to which the cash balance was paid to the royal treasury in December 1849, to [the amount of] \$65,25. The cash balance is now \$1, which Mr. Schøning has paid. The Palaver Protocol is to be handed over to Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt, and for those cases for which goods or money have been deposited, Schøning will get a receipt from Mr. Lutterodt (or possibly an English magistrate).

32) In the beginning of 1848, non-commissioned officer Engmann caught eleven slaves at Adda, on their way to the slave market. They were brought to the plantation Frederiksgave, and yesterday, they were handed over to Commander Bannerman as *liberated slaves*. Engmann applies for the reward that other military personnel have been given for catching slaves (to H.P. Hansen, J. Sonne), and based on that, I have granted him 10 Rdl. g. Ct.

33) Paid to Missionary Stanger²⁶⁹ the outstanding amount of the Government’s allowance until *ultimo* March, and informed that the Danish government, from 1 April this year, will leave it to the British government to support the work of the mission in the country.

34) Received from Assistant Schøning a list of “military arrears”, to a total amount of 14 Rdl. g. Ct. 37 d., which could not be claimed from the debtors in question. I have informed Mr. Schøning that I will remit the arrears of the mentioned soldiers to the amount of 10 Rdl. 37 d., of which, with the approval of the Ministry of Finance, I will only pay him 4 Rdl., which earlier belonged to the royal treasury.

12 April 1850

35) From 26 March to 11 April in Cape Coast, Elmina and back to Prøvesten. In Elmina I personally informed the Dutch establishment of the cession of the Danish possessions to the British government. [391]

²⁶⁹ Joh. Stanger, sent out by the Basel Mission 1846, worked at Christiansborg 1850.

36) On 5 March, in Cape Coast, I signed the document on the cession of the Danish possessions to Governor Winniett (dated 30 March). Three copies were signed, of which Governor W. and I kept one copy each, the third was to be sent to the British colonial minister by Governor W. I enclose that document.

37) Governor Winniett sent me the enclosed answers to my letters of 22 and 23 March:

“I have had the honour of receiving your letters of 22nd and 23rd last month. I have dispatched transcriptions of the letters to inform the Government Secretary of the Colonial Office, since I am not entitled to act without authorization. I have proposed to the Government Secretary remarks that I would regard as my duty under the present conditions.”

W. Winniett

Governor Winniett remarked that he had recommended the “pension case” to the Colonial Minister in a manner that would satisfy me when I experience the presentation of the case by our envoy in London.

I will inform the Danish envoy in London of the transcriptions of the paper work of the “pension case”, and recommend a presentation of the case, by which, possibly, *all the pensions in Guinea* might be saved for the royal treasury.

38) I will inform Count Reventlow the following in a letter:

“By informing Your Excellency with the enclosed transcriptions of the correspondence between the British Governor in Guinea and me regarding the Danish pensioners in Guinea, I will hereby attach Governor Winniett’s own words to mine: “that he had recommended the pension case to the Colonial Minister in a manner that would satisfy me when I experience the presentation of the case by the Danish envoy in London”. I might expect that Your Excellency soon will be able to experience if Governor Winniett warmly recommended the cession of the native Danish-Guinean pensioners by the British-Guinean government. I take the liberty of remarking that perhaps Your Excellency would succeed in extending the question on cession of the *native* pensioners, so that the only European pensioner in Guinea and an invalid there, who gets a pension from the *Dannebrog Men’s* fund, could be included in an possible concession, whereby Denmark could be relieved all pensioners in Guinea. I have informed the English governor that the pension amounts to the native pensioners will

CLOSING THE BOOKS

be £80 annually, for the following 18 pensioners (the list under no. 28 is enclosed.)
[392]

Furthermore, the Danish government pays Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt in Accra (60 years of age) £45 annually, and Jens Kjøge (from the D.M's fund) £5 annually. The last-mentioned is more than 70 years of age.

The total pension amounts will thus be £130 sterling annually. But this sum might be decreased by confiscating the pensions of seven native pensioners, notably nos. 4,7,9,13,14, and 16, (their pensions are to be terminated by 1 January next year) with £22 sterling. Thus the native pensioners could be transferred with the sum of £58 sterling, and the two abovementioned included, making the sum of £108 sterling annually, by which the British government would release Denmark from a financial and administrative burden, in a colony handed over to England for an insignificant compensation".

Fort Prøvesten (Accra), 2 April 1850

Edw. Carstensen

39) Paid out to pensioners, Jens Kjøge (from the D.M's fund) to 3 children from the Mulatto treasury fund (according to enclosure) 37 Rdl. g. Ct.

40) Paid out in accordance with the instruction of Mr. Schøning, to the interpreter Hessi and various soldiers, in total 54 Rdl. g. Ct 5 d. Further, on the same order from Mr. Schøning, 12 Rdl. g. Ct. I informed Assistant Schøning that I did not regard him as sufficiently entitled to the two sums of 6 Rdl. g. Ct; his salary was set at a high level in order to take care of the remaining business. That the transportation of guns, etc., from Quitta, after being prepaid in Quitta, again would cost 6 Rdl. g. Ct. (\$18 paid in Quitta), should not fall as a burden on the royal treasury. I paid Assistant Schøning the mentioned 12 Rdl. g. Ct., with the information that it would be deducted from his salary if the Ministry of Finance did not approve of the payment.

41) Since due to illness in the beginning of my stay here, I could not receive all the cash balances at the time, as the announced auction and the cession of the chief fort required, I had Messrs. Schøning and Larsen as auction witnesses and record holders, to set up the auction list according to the cash balance book and the inventory book. It was the same [situation] at the auction of 23 March. In the inventory account, which is hereby enclosed, I have followed the inventory list of 8 November

1849 and indicated if the individual items were sold, handed over or sent home. With regard to the cash balance in accordance with the cash balance book, I would have to rely on bookkeeper Schøning's statements in the auction protocol. *Here*, as anywhere else, where arrears, credits on salary accounts and so forth, would come into consideration at my disbursements, I have only taken the results (statements by the bookkeeper or sums) [393] into account without being able to examine if they were correct or not, something, which my time and health situation would not allow me. To examine this is the task of the accountant and the responsibility of the bookkeeper.

42) The result of the two auctions, as follows:

<i>Auction 5. March</i>		\$	d.	\$	d.
King's possessions		934	30		
deduction 8 p.Ct.	\$75				
witness fee	6 40 d.	81	40	852	50
Councillor Schmidt's		628	37		
8 p. Ct.		50	25½	578	11½
Ass. Schøning's		78	10		
8 p. Ct.		6		72	10
Lieut. Larsen's		64	30		
8 p.Ct.		5		59	30
 <i>Auction 23 March</i>					
King's possessions		574	25		
deduction 8 p.Ct	\$43 47 d.				
witness fee	6 40 "	50	27	496	58
Mr. Schmidt's		77	45		
8 p.Ct.		6	12	71	33
Mr. Schøning's		18			
8 p. Ct.		1	26	16	34
	Sum			2,147	46 ½
In total to the royal treasury		1,349	48		
" Mr. R. Schmidt		649	44 ½		
" Mr. Schøning		88	44		
" Mr. Larsen		59	30		
	Sum	2,147	46 ½		

From this, as mentioned above (no. 25), \$250 is paid out to Mr. Schmidt and \$50 to Lieut. Larsen. To the total amount for the auctions, the

collector, Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt, would have to act as described above in detail. (no.30).

43) All the percentages (i.e. in addition to the collector's p.Ct.as well as the auction percentages to me) of the auction on 23 March, I have left to Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt a fee for the use of his house and warehouse at the auction and at other occasions. Thereby, I have avoided giving Lutterodt a bonus, but in another form, granted him [394] an allowance I regarded as suitable. I have had so many applications for bonuses that I have declared to everybody that I was not in a position to offer any, even small ones. By this I have avoided the bother myself, and the royal treasury has saved a substantial amount of money.

Since, from 1 April, I would draw only half salary, I am not able to renounce on the 6 p.Ct., which I have left to Lutterodt. The amount \$38 30 d. is actually a bonus to Lutterodt, which should hardly be a loss for me. I have therefore credited myself that amount in the accounts.

15 April 1850

44) Written to Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt:

"Since I have arrived at the conclusion that only the native pensioners who are not able to obtain their daily bread, should keep their pensions, while the native pensioners who could do without the pension in this country so rich in opportunities - where only decrepitude and old age should be obstacles for acquiring daily subsistence - still, should not be a burden to Denmark, notably at a time when so many wounded and war-ridden individuals deserve the help of the state to a much greater degree. Therefore, you have to inform the following pensioners that the granted pensions, after further orders from the Ministry of Finance, will most likely cease at the end of this year.

Notably No. 4 Briandt	No. 14 Quist
" 7 H.A. Malm	,, 15 Næser
" 9 D. Schmidt	,, 16 Ajette
" 13 Nathel	

The females, previously villeins, as well as the children who were supported by the Mulatto treasury fund, have, as you know, already been informed of the termination of the pensions".

Edw. Carstensen

The abovementioned pensioners where summoned and informed as described above.

15 April 1850

45) Written to the honourable I. Bannerman as follows:

"I have given Mr. Schøning the necessary instructions to pay you the remaining amount of Richter's estate against your receipt, which will declare that the mentioned [395] amount will by you be legally divided as soon as Mr. Schøning forwards, from Denmark, "the claims of Mr. Wriesberg", properly examined, for you to handle.

Mr. Lutterodt will pay out the Danish pensioners here, what they are due until further notice from the Danish government. I have given Lutterodt the necessary papers and the rates for these expenses. Since I am responsible for these entrusted sums (\$2,000), you would serve me well by looking after my interests, if any sudden change might occur at Lutterodt's house before the accounts are finally submitted, i.e. within a year or so".

46) At Cape Coast I received a letter from the Colonial Office concerning Major Wriesberg's claims²⁷⁰. By the reception of the letter, the Establishment was handed over. I enclose the letters I received from Mr. Bannerman and Mr. G. Lutterodt in connection with my letters to the gentlemen regarding Wriesberg. Assistant Schøning is, as estate administrator and debt commissioner, more closely acquainted with these matters.

47) Enclose a letter from the English Commander Fenshawe regarding a warship for my home journey.

17 April 1850

48) The following boxes are dispatched with the brig *Thomas Snook*:

No.1 Books

" 2 "

" 3 Books, medical instruments. The chasubles.

" 4 Miscellaneous to the Ethnographic Museum. The banner. The barometer.

" 5 Muskets and gun shapes

" 6 " "

" 7 Natural Historical Museum (No. 8.9. Larsen's)

" 10. 11. Mr. R.Schmidt's

" 12 Governor Carstensen's

" 12 b The mail box

²⁷⁰ Philip Wilhelm Wriesberg (1785-1855), major, and in 1819 a short period temporary governor in Guinea. He claimed that he had some unsettled arrear in Guinea and wanted them settled. (Enclosure to G.J. 230/1851).

As well as travel luggage belonging to Governor Carstensen and Councillor Schmidt.

49) On 8 April, Lieut. Larsen left on the brig *Sultana*. Assistant Schøning was to have passage with the same ship, but to my surprise, I found Mr. Schøning in Accra when I returned from Cape Coast. Mr. Schøning remains here now, to await a homebound ship. [396]

50) I have found the Coast in a more wretched condition than ever, from a European point of view. The reason is "the nature of trade". The competence (however poor), which partly schooling, partly an imperfect upbringing in England have been given to a lot of natives, is being applied exclusively in a commerce. Trade alone can nourish the tendency for intolerance and self-indulgence, which the native only refines a little by his acquired competence. The native is content with only little profit on his goods, and therefore, trade will soon be impossible for greater houses, for Europeans. There are hardly any *White* merchants left; in a few years only a few civil servants will be of European origin. As a consequence, the social intercourse will be gone; life will be sad and monotonous to desperation. At the same time as this distribution of trade and its transition to native merchants, the prices on most objects have risen. Manpower is dearer. (Thus, travelling expenses, formerly very low and paid in goods, have grown very high and are payable in *pjaster*) Our expenses would necessarily have increased, if we had kept the Establishment. The plan of the English, to introduce duty on landing of various goods (rum 3 d. a gallon, tobacco 6 d. a pound, powder 5 sh. a carton, guns 2 sh. 6d.) appears to meet resistance from the Dutch.

51) Tomorrow, on 18 April, the brig *Th Snooks* will sail. Commander Bannerman has invited me to lunch at Fort Christiansborg, and from there, accompanied by all the dignitaries from the two Accra towns, he will see me to the canoe. And then my duties on the Coast will have come to an end!

Ussu town, 17 April 1850

Edw. Carstensen

With reference to the contents of the "Journal"

1. Presentation of the royal order – the termination of the Establishment – the salary of the civil servants.
2. Salaries
3. The cession announcement
4. The cession of the chief fort (see 6)
5. Auction
6. The cession of chief fort
7. The cession of the Lower forts
8. The cash balance
9. " "
10. Estates
11. Amnesties
12. The mission (see 15,27,28,33,37)
13. The archives
14. The cession convention
15. The mission
16. The pension system
17. The cession of the mountain tribes
18. The journey to Cape Coast
19. The cession of the last fort
20. The mail box – the administration of the estate – the Marman case
21. The final termination of the Establishment – the salaries of the civil servants
22. Recommendation concerning Mr. Schøning
23. Salaries paid out
24. Travel allowances
25. Advances
26. Home shipment of boxes
27. Loan to the mission
28. The mission – the pension system
29. Letter to Lutterodt concerning the pensioners
30. The collecting after the auctions
31. The palaver protocol
32. Liberated slaves
33. The mission
34. Arrears – with regard to Schøning, reference to the approval of the Ministry of Finance
35. The journey to Cape Coast and Elmina
36. The cession treaty

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37. Governor Winniett's answer on the mission and the pensioners
38. Letter to Count Reventlow on the pensioners
39. Pensions paid out
40. Salaries " - with regard to Schøning, reference to the approval of the Ministry of Finance
41. Inventory
42. Auctions
43. Bonuses
44. The pension system
45. Letter to Bannermann
46. Wriesberg's claims
47. English warship
48. Shipped boxed
49. Larsen's departure – Schøning's non-departure
50. The Coast
51. Departure from the Coast |398|

Supplement to the "Journal"

- 1) Ref 3. On 22 February, I informed the garrison that by 1 March, it would be discharged, but, in any case, that it should serve once more in March (at the cession of the fort), draw salary until 15 March, i.e. a half-month's payment as a bonus. Some soldiers (with non-commissioned and interpreter) will remain in the service at Fort Prinsensten until the end of the month (*ultimo* March). Furthermore, the out-commanded non-commissioned and soldiers will keep their salary the whole month. Thus I explained to bookkeeper Schøning and Lieut. Larsen how I wanted the salary lists organized. I have not had time to compare the drawn salary-requisitions to the salary books.
- 2) Ref. 31. Forgot to make a note, that on that same day the Establishment's Protocol on Mortgage and Deeds was handed over to Chief War Commissioner Lutterodt.
- 3) As shown by the account, I have paid out to Anna Magnussen 4 Rdl. g. Ct., the remainder after a re-counting of a barrel of "boss". Assistant Schøning claims that he cannot justify that lack, since he received the same barrel, after the death of Lauritzen, with the

amount painted on, and the barrel has not been opened since. The responsibility of Mr. Schøning is referred to the decision of the Ministry of Finance.

- 4) For the resolution and consideration of the Ministry of Finance, I have directed the following cases:

The deficit of Mr. Schøning	according to	8
The application of the mission	“	“ 12
About the archives	“	“ 13
The petition of Mr. Schøning	“	“ 22
The petition of Mr. Schøning	“	“ 34
The petition of Mr. Schøning	“	“ 40
The responsibility of Mr. Schøning	see above	
The termination of the pensions	“	“ 44

- 5) List of “enclosures”, referring to the Journal and the account

No.1-8 Accountant references (kept in the accounts)

- “ 9 The cession treaty
- “ 10 Copy of the convention
- “ 11 Letter from Governor Winniett
- “ 12 Assistant Schøning’s report on his dispatch to the Lower forts
- “ 13 Letter on a warship for my home journey from Sierra Leone
- “ 14 G. Lutterodt’s bonds
- “ 15 The listing of the inventory
- “ 16 Testimony on the missionaries’ loan
- “ 17 Mr. Schmidt’s application for an advance
- “ 18 Lieut. Larsen’s “ “ “
- “ 19 The application of the mission
- “ 20 Two letters concerning Major Wriesberg’s claims

- 6) Remarks concerning the inventory accounts.
- a) Assistant Schøning has not presented an accurate and detailed account of the sale at Fort Prinsensten.
 - b) At the auction on the 23rd, 412 ½ pounds gunpowder and 289 pounds cannon powder – according to Lieut. Larsen’s statement on the balance in the ammunition account.
 - c) As remarked in the inventory account, some old non-commissioned officers’ swords and cutlasses were given to the

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oldest members of the garrison. Also, the old standard and an old drum and pipe (from Prinsensten) were presented to the free Mulattos.

At sea, 23 May 1850

Edu. Carstensen

PLATES & MAPS

1. Luncheon at Fort Christiansborg. A water colour painted by Francois, Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, citizen king of France, after his visit to Fort Christiansborg in 1843 Reproduced by courtesy of Handels -og Søfartsmuseet, Kronborg - Danish Maritime Museum).
2. A drawing of a constable in uniform from the Guinean artillery. Rigsarkivet København (Danish National Archive, Copenhagen).
3. Drawing of the official residence outside Christiansborg. Rigsarkivet København (Danish National Archive, Copenhagen).
4. Drawing of a ground plan of Fort Christiansborg, copy based on an original made by Lieutenant J.V. Svedstrup. Rigsarkivet København (Danish National Archive, Copenhagen).
5. Map of the Danish possessions in Guinea, made by Peter Thonning in 1802. Rigsarkivet København (Danish National Archive, Copenhagen).

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Plantation Frederiksgave

Sitting on the terrace of the royal plantation Frederiksgave, his favourite retreat, Governor Edward Carstensen came to see the inevitable: Denmark had to give up her “possessions” in Africa. As fate would have it, he came to be the instrument by which two centuries of Danish involvement on the Gold Coast was terminated, thereby making way for the emergence of the colonial system that developed there.

After the abolition of the slave trade, Denmark had struggled to find ways and means to legitimate her continued stay at the Coast. At an early stage the Danes initiated a number of attempts to establish experimental plantations to cultivate export crops such as cotton, coffee and sugar. But a transition from slave trade to “legitimate” products required stability and peace, and a need for control, which the rather limited Danish presence was not able to maintain.

CLOSING THE BOOKS comprises a compilation of the official reports that the last Danish Governor sent home during his term of office at the Gold Coast. The reports reflect his personal views regarding the economic and political situations there, as well as his ideas on the “civilization of Africa”.

Carstensen was a reliable observer and an articulate rapporteur of local affairs ...the English translation of his papers therefore opens up a gold mine of information to the international and Ghanaian community of scholars, and to all among the general public who are interested in Ghanaian history.

Professor Per Hernæs



Sub-Saharan Publishers